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## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

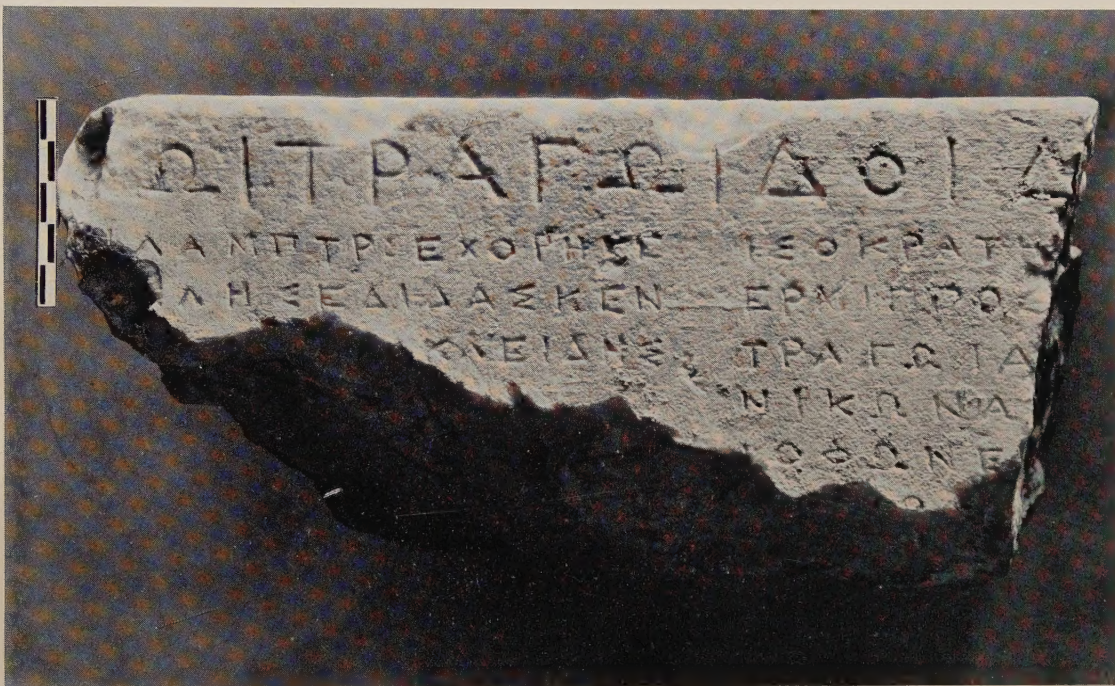
### A New Fragment of the List of Victors at the City Dionysia

1. A fragment of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom and on both sides, but preserving the wide upper margin and thirteen letters of the heading; found May 28, 1937, in Section Φ in the excavation of the north slope of the Areiopagos. A part of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2318.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, in heading 0.011 m. to 0.016 m., in text 0.006 m.; space occupied by lines, 0.012 m. each.

Inv. No. I 4927.



No. 1 (the last visible letter in line 3 of the right-hand column is a certain Δ; the appearance of A is due to a photographic illusion)

Ξ Ω Ι Τ Ρ Α Γ Ω Ι Δ Ο Ι Δ

[...ω]ν Λαμπτρ: ἐχορήγε(ι)	5 Ἴσοκράτη[ς ἐχορήγει]
[Σοφο]κλῆς ἐδίδασκεν	Ἑρμιππος [ἐδίδασκεν]
[ὑποκριτῆς Ἡρ]ακλείδης	τραγωιδ[ῶν],
	Νίκων Ἀ[--- ἐχορήγει]
	Ἰοφῶν ἐ[δίδασκεν]
	10 [ὑποκ]ρ[ιτῆς ---]



The character of the great document to which this piece belongs is well known from the eleven fragments which have come to light at intervals since 1835, when Frag. *d* was reported by Pittakis. The inscription recorded, year by year, from an epoch date which cannot now be determined with certainty, the victors in the lyric and dramatic contests at the City Dionysia, and was continued until well toward the end of the fourth century, presumably to the year when, in place of the old choregic system, the "choregia of the Demos," or agonothesia, was instituted.<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm's exhaustive treatise, in which he brought together all the related epigraphical and literary records bearing upon the subject, laid the foundations for all subsequent studies in this field. The present writer acknowledges his own indebtedness, even when not in agreement with him, to Wilhelm's work, not only in the preparation of this article, but also in connection with earlier excursions into the domain of Athenian literary history in which the epigraphical evidence is of first importance.<sup>2</sup> I cannot but regard it as a piece of extraordinary good fortune that, after some forty odd years, I have the privilege of making known this new and not unimportant fragment of one of the most valuable documents bearing upon the cultural history of classical Athens. The convenient term *Fasti*, made familiar by Wilamowitz, will be used in referring to the document as a whole.

The position which this fragment occupied in the *Fasti* is not difficult to determine. Since it bears a portion of the heading, it comes from the upper portion of two columns. The prosopographical evidence of date prescribes within narrow limits the period to which the dramatic events recorded in it belong, and the order of the items in the portions of its two year-lists in relation to Frag. *b*, which precedes it, and to Frag. *c*, which follows it, makes certain its exact position in the structure of the catalogue as a whole (see Plate I).

The first column contains the names of Sophokles and Herakleides. The active career of Sophokles extended from his first victory in 469/8 to his death in 406/5. The first victory of the tragic actor Herakleides was won in 450/49, the year in which the tragic-actors' contest was established, on the evidence of Frag. *b* combined with

<sup>1</sup> See Kirchner *ad* 2318, and especially Wilhelm, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen*, p. 241. The later fragments, from *f* on, are in a later hand, *ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> I refer especially to my *Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia* (Chicago, 1903), in which I was led to conclusions as to the general character and physical structure of the *Fasti* which at many points coincided with those of Wilhelm, whose *Urkunden* (except for the *Nachträge*) was in type in 1902 although not published until 1906. My point of departure in that study, however, was not the inscriptions, but Aristotle's highly condensed account of the beginnings and development of comedy in Athens (*Poetics*, 5). It has become increasingly evident that this chapter of Aristotle requires for its correct interpretation the factual evidence which for us is available, though in a very fragmentary state, only in the inscriptions; for the material which the *Fasti* and related inscriptions furnish to us was compiled by Aristotle himself and supplied him with the concrete facts on the basis of which he built his sketch of the stages in the development of the two branches of the Attic drama.



*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2325 *p*, which is the list, beginning with his name, of the tragic actors who won victories at the City Dionysia.<sup>3</sup> If the new fragment is placed at the top of Cols. III and IV, the date of these victories is 448/7, and the victories in the second column would be eleven or twelve years later, i. e., those of Hermippos and Iophon. The only dateable didascalia of Iophon is given by the hypothesis to Euripides' *Hippolytos*, produced in 429/8, when the son of Sophokles was second. He was active in 406/5, the year of Aristophanes' *Frogs*; the scholium on v. 73 says of him: ἡγωνίσαστο — — — καὶ ἐνίκησε λαμπρῶς ἔτι ζῶντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.<sup>4</sup> The victory of Hermippos here recorded was undoubtedly his first at the Dionysia. In the corresponding Victors' List, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2325 *e*, he comes next after Pherekrates and just before Aristophanes.<sup>5</sup> In the Lenaeon Victors' List, Frag. *i*, his name likewise follows that of Pherekrates and he is credited with four victories. The year of Pherekrates' first City Victory has long been in doubt; but since we can now date that of Hermippos in 436/5,<sup>6</sup> we at last have confirmation of Dobree's lucky guess that Anon. περὶ κωμωδίας (Kaibel, *Com. Gr. Frag.*, I, p. 8): Φερεκράτης Ἀθηναῖος νικᾷ ἐπὶ θεάτρων should be corrected to read ἐπὶ Θεοδώρων, 438/7. Thus we secure two more fixed dates for the interpretation of the Victors' List of the comic poets who won at the City festival.

The prosopographical evidence, therefore, points very clearly to a position for the new fragment at the top of Cols. III and IV. And in fact, since Col. II, which

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *A.J.P.*, XX, 1899, p. 402; *Introduction*, Chart; and O'Connor, *History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, p. 61, and his *Prosopographia*, No. 214.

<sup>4</sup> We are justified in taking seriously the scholiast's reference to Iophon's "brilliant victories," for such matters were of especial interest to the scholars of the Library at Alexandria, and they had access to the complete didascalical material of which many portions have come down to us in literary notices, lexicæ, learned comment in scholia, etc. By and large, these reports as found in hypotheses and scholia have proved to be remarkably trustworthy in such matters, barring corruptions in transmission; see *Harvard Studies*, XV, 1904, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>5</sup> It is gratifying to note that Kirchner restores Ἀρι[στοφάνης —] in Frag. *e*, as Kaibel does in Wilhelm's *Urkunden*, p. 176, retracting his support of Ἀρι[στομένης in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* s. v. Aristomenes, though Wilhelm still held to the lesser poet. The position of those who still insist that the hypodidaskalos, not the poet who employed him, was awarded the victory still beclouds the question. My arguments on that point in *A.J.P.*, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 89 ff. and pp. 181 ff. seem to me to retain their validity still. I find in the Victors' Lists of the tragic and comic poets, and in the *Fasti*, not a shred of evidence in support of the contention that in the fifth century, any more than in the fourth, it was not the poet who won the prize awarded to his own play. The case of Anaxandrides, as recorded in *I.G.*, XIV, 1098, as last—and best—interpreted by Dittmer, *The Fragments of Athenian Comic Didascaliae Found in Rome*, and the case of Aphareus, reported in Ps. Plutarch, *Vit. X Orat.*, 839 d, settle the question for the fourth century. As for Aristomenes, it is clear from *I.G.*, XIV, 1097, Dittmer's edition, that his first success at the Dionysia came very late in his long career. Geissler, *Chronologie der altattischen Komödie*, p. 6, supports (with a few minor corrections) Dittmer's reconstruction of the Roman Didascaliae and ably defends Ἀρι[στοφάνης —] in *e*; he favors the year 427/6 and the play *Babylonioi* for Aristophanes' first City victory.

<sup>6</sup> Geissler, *ibid.*, p. 11, estimated Hermippos' first victory as "nicht lange vor 426."



contained 140 lines, ends with the 9th item of the year-list of 448/7 and the first item in our first column is the 10th of a year-list, the junction there is perfect. But an apparent obstacle to this position is seen in our second column, which is the 7th item of a year-list, whereas the last item in Col. III, if it also had 140 lines, as has hitherto been assumed, would have ended with the 5th item of 436/5, not with the 6th. The solution, however, is obvious—Col. III must have had 141 lines. This, as it happens, is also required of Cols. VIII and IX, in which Frag. *d* stood, as Wilhelm was quick to perceive.<sup>7</sup> And Kirchner, on the strength of *d*, assumes 141 lines for Cols. IV, V, VI, and VII also, no doubt rightly. But it is now clear that a long series of columns of that length began with Col. III. Consequently we have no hesitation in assigning the Agora fragment to that position. Its first column is separated from the third column of *b* by a gap of only three lines. We shall refer to it as *b*<sup>2</sup>, so as to retain for the other fragments Kirchner's notation in the *Corpus*.

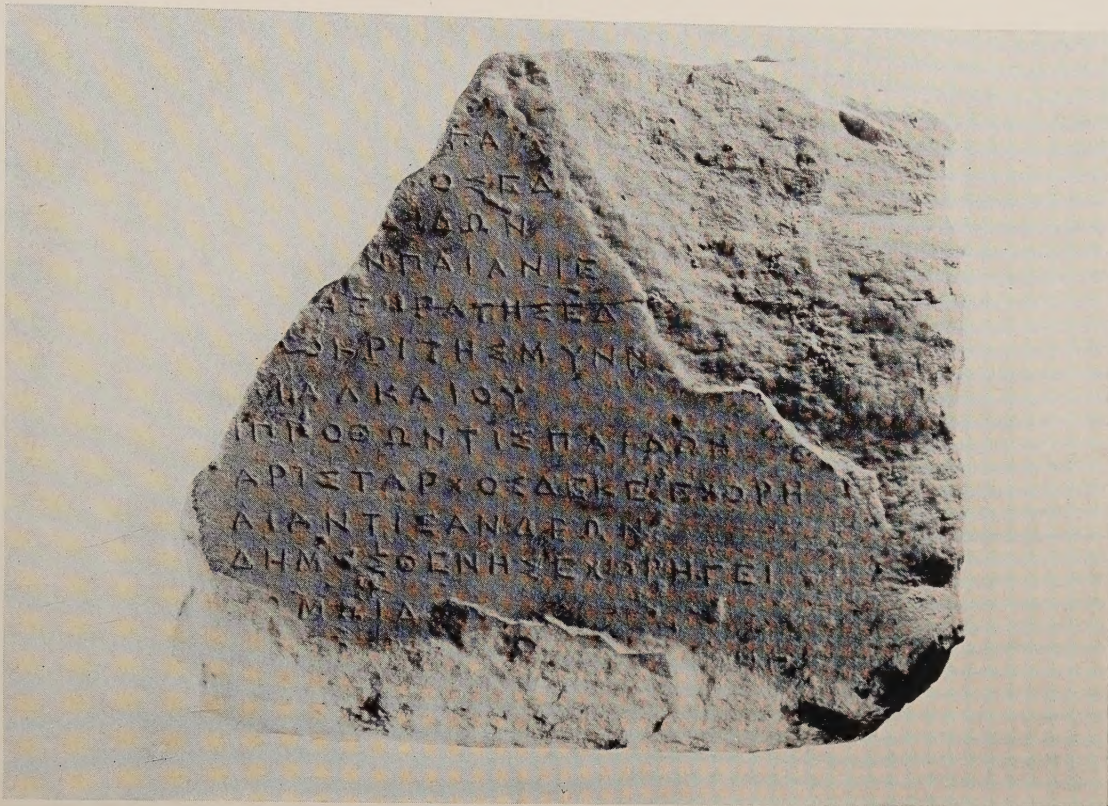
The presumption is justified that, since Col. III must have contained 141 lines and also Cols. VIII and IX, the four intervening columns likewise must have been of equal length. The only fragment which survives between Frag. *b*<sup>2</sup> and the first column of Frag. *d* is Frag. *c*, which contains 13 lines of which 6 are of 423/2 and 7 of 422/1. It therefore stood in Col. V, in which its position is fixed by the orderly sequence of the year-lists from 436/5, with which *b*<sup>2</sup> ends, to item 7 of the year-list of 423/2, with which *c* begins. Now Frag. *c* preserves on its under side a portion of the original contact-surface, so that, belonging to the upper block of the wall on which the Fasti were inscribed, it possesses a special interest as giving evidence of the physical structure of the monument. For if we possessed a carefully made measurement of the space available for writing between the last visible line (it is the 7th item of the year-list of 422/1, the choregus for comedy) and the lower margin, it would be possible to determine how many additional lines stood on this block. Unfortunately for our present purpose, no measurement is given by either Wilhelm or Kirchner, and since no portion is left, under the last visible line, of the contact-surface except a small space at some distance back of the front, the photograph accompanying this article<sup>8</sup> affords no substitute for a measurement of the stone itself. Wilhelm says that the 9th line in the year-list (*Urkunden*, p. 21, cf. p. 9) "wird noch auf diesem Stein gestanden haben," and Kirchner so prints in the *Corpus*, restoring [τραγωιδῶν]. For reasons which will be given later on<sup>9</sup> I believe that a measurement of the space would show room for item 10 also, the choregus for tragedy. This would give the upper block 31 lines.

<sup>7</sup> In the *Anzeiger*, pp. 5-6, of the Austrian Academy, phil.-hist. Cl., session of July 4, 1906. This is the fragment which Pittakis saw and copied and, in a fashion, published in his *L' ancienne Athènes*, p. 168. Wilhelm rediscovered it in 1906 in a private house in Athens. He had already divined, with remarkable ingenuity, from the jumble of Pittakis' copy, intermingled with interpolations which purported to be copies, a large part of its middle column (*Urkunden*, pp. 22 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> From the collection of the Institute for Advanced Study.

<sup>9</sup> Pages 7-8.



I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 2318, Frag. c

Columns III, IV, and V must now be considered to have been made up as follows:

III		IV		V	
448/7	3 lines	436/5	6 lines	424/3	9 lines
11 yrs.	132 "	11 yrs.	132 "	10 yrs.	120 "
436/5	6 "	424/3	3 "	413/2	12 "
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
141 "		141 "		141 "	

The Agora fragment has shown us that in Cols. III, IV, and the upper part (the top block) of V there was no departure from the normal year-lists of 12 lines each, and it is a fair inference, since we have no information of any innovation in the programme of the Dionysia between 421 and 412, that these columns were constituted as shown above. But in Col. VI we do have knowledge of an irregularity which would have affected at least one year-list in it, and on the authority of Aristotle, who is quoted in the Venetus scholium to Aristophanes' *Frogs*, 404, as saying that in the archonship of the Kallias in whose year the *Frogs* was produced <sup>10</sup> it was decreed that two choregi,

<sup>10</sup> The intention of the scholiast thus to identify the archon is unmistakeable: ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Καλλίου τούτου φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι σύνδου ἔδοξε χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια τοῖς τραγωδοῖς καὶ κωμικοῖς. But



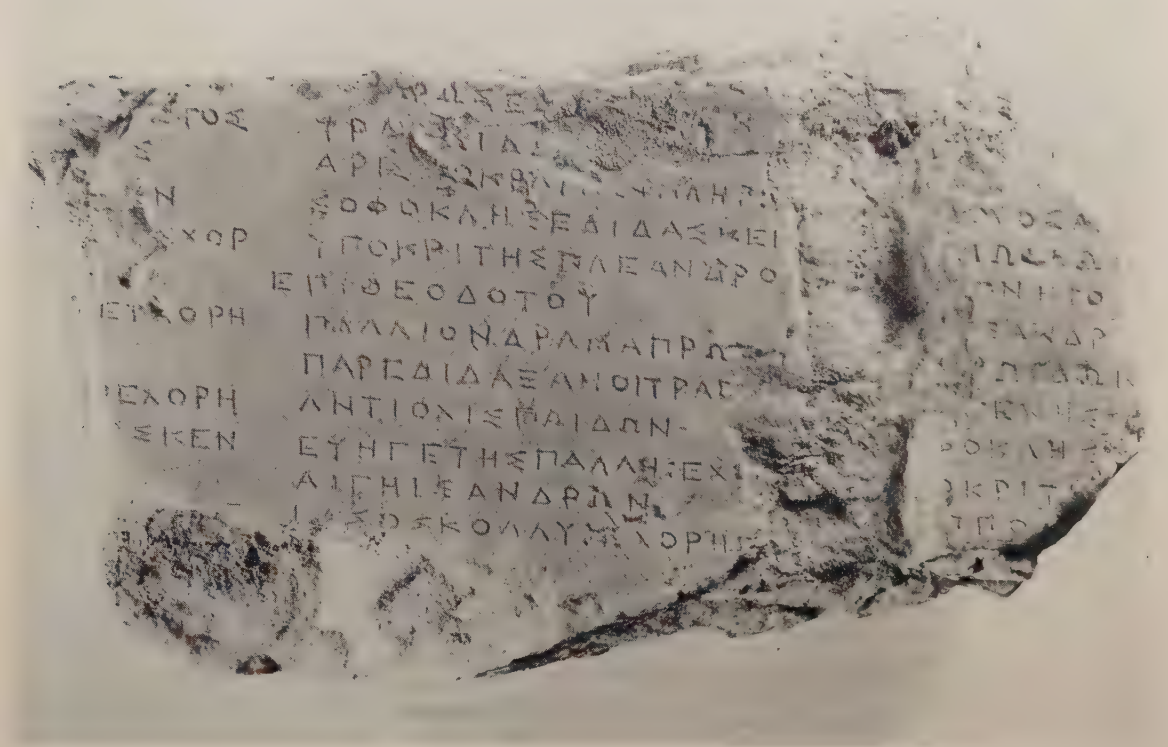
instead of one, should bear the expenses of the comic and tragic performances at the Dionysia. The record of such joint liturgies would require an additional name and demotic for each event, adding two lines to the year-list. Therefore, if the exact position of Frag. *d* in Cols. VII, VIII, and IX can be ascertained and the number of lines in the upper block, we shall be able to determine whether between Col. VI, containing the normal year-lists of 12 lines each, and the first line in VII there is a gap and, if so, of how many lines.

The stone which preserves *d* is, like *c*, badly broken irregularly at the bottom across its three columns, and in such a way that its middle column extends down three lines farther than its first and two lines farther than its third. The small portion of its original contact-surface with the next block underneath is so situated that without props it will not support the stone upright and level. Consequently it is a difficult and delicate task to make an accurate measurement of the surface above the margin, now broken away, which contained letters. At least I found it so in 1910, when I inspected the stone in the basement of its then owner's house without an assistant; consequently I never trusted the measurement I tried to take. If Wilhelm encountered similar conditions in 1906, I can readily appreciate his difficulties.

In his preliminary publication (*Anzeiger* of the phil.-hist. Cl. of the Austrian Academy, session of July 4, 1906, p. 1) Wilhelm described the fragment as "unten mit Rand, über dem ein Raum von 0.047 m. ohne Schrift bleibt, sonst gebrochen." In a letter of Nov. 1, 1906, Wilhelm, with characteristic courtesy, in response to my inquiry about this space replied: "There is a possibility (not more than that) of some lines more in the space of 0.047 m. under the line I thought to be the last"—referring to *Ἰασος* Κολλυ: ἐχορήγει, now line 207 in Kirchner. In his final publication, *Jahreshefte d. öst. Arch. Inst.*, X, 1907, p. 36, he explains more fully: "irrig habe ich früher, durch den ersten Anblick getäuscht, angenommen, dass über diesem Rande ein Raum von 0.047 m. ohne Schrift geblieben sei; nachträglich hat sich herausgestellt, dass von dem letzten Buchstaben des Wortes *κωμωιδῶν* noch ein Rest vorhanden ist und weitere zwei Zeilen gefolgt sein können, obgleich der Stein an den von Brüchen nicht beschädigten Stellen keine Spur von Schrift zeigt." By this he certainly means two lines below [*κωμωιδῶ*]*ν*, though Kirchner seems to interpret him as meaning two lines below his line 207, *Ἰασος*, etc. Finally, in summing up, Wilhelm (*ibid.*, p. 40) says: "die Lage der Jahresanfänge der Listen in den drei Spalten des Steines zu der bereits festgestellten Zeilenzahl der Spalten stimmt." Here he refers to his computation of the preceding columns in *Urkunden*, p. 9. But in that computation he, like the

for the synchoregic inscription from Eleusis, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3090, the scholiast's chronology would never have been called in question. Accepting Wilhelm's positive opinion that the hand of this inscription antedates 406/5, Kirchner does well in classifying the Eleusinian inscription among the synchoregic inscriptions which refer to the demotic exhibitions at the Rural Dionysia, of which there are five others.

rest of us, was reckoning with 140 lines in III, IV, and V and so was making each column between II and VII fall short of what now seems surely its actual contents by an accumulating error of 1 line a column, partly offset by one line left vacant at the bottom of Col. IV. Thus Frag. *b*<sup>2</sup>, having upset all earlier computations, makes possible a revision of them; for by counting backwards from *d* to *c* we should be able



*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2318, Frag. *d*

to discover what additional lines, if any, were required in Col. VI for the extra choregi of 406/5 or beyond.

Wilhelm's estimates of the space available for letters above the margin in the second column of *d* were made from an inspection of the stone while it was still in the private house in Athens in which I saw it in 1910, as explained above. In 1937, after the discovery of the Agora fragment, I requested my friend Eugene Schweigert, then epigraphist on the staff of the American School excavation of the Agora of Athens, to make an independent measurement. This he did, under the favorable conditions as to light and facilities of the Epigraphical Museum,<sup>11</sup> which had acquired

<sup>11</sup> Its inventory number in the Museum is 12634.



the piece a few years before. On Dec. 15, 1937, he wrote: "You inquired about the possibility of measuring the space between the base of the stone and the bottom of line 207 in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2318. As I measure it, it is 0.054 m. The space which four lines regularly fill is approximately 0.048 m. or 0.012 per line (that is, counting from the bottom of one line to the bottom of the next). There is therefore plenty of room for four lines with 0.006 m. left over." Thus Schweigert's measurement makes the last line on the uppermost block which contained *d*, in *d*'s middle column, *τραγωιδῶν*, the 9th line of a normal year-list, of the year 387/6,<sup>12</sup> one line more beyond Wilhelm's last and two lines beyond Kirchner's. Dr. Anton Raubitschek has kindly tested this measurement on the excellent photograph of the Institute's collection (herein reproduced) and confirms it. Hence I accept it as being the most likely to be correct.

It remains now to ascertain, if possible, how many lines were inscribed on the upper block to which Frag. *d* belongs. Since *τραγωιδῶν* has been shown by Schweigert's measurement to have been the last line above the margin in its middle column, the corresponding line in its first column would have been item 2 of the year 398/7, the winning tribe in the contest of boys' choruses. We count back from this point in Col. VII and forward from the beginning of Col. VI. Now Col. VI, if normal throughout, began with the archon of 412/1 and would contain 11 year-lists of 12 lines each plus, at the bottom, 9 lines of 401/0. Col. VII would then have begun with item 10 of 401/0 and the top block on which *d* was inscribed would have contained 29 lines. But the last visible line in *c* was, as we have seen, the 28th of Col. V, and Wilhelm estimated that two more lines followed above the margin, so that the top block that contained *c* would have had 30 lines, though I believe it probable that it had, in fact, 31. When a new measurement of this fragment is made, whether the measurement gives to *c* 30 or 31 lines, we shall be obliged to assume that, as a matter of good masonry, the height of the top block at *d* (Cols. VII, VIII, IX) is the same. But the possibility that the top block contained only 29 lines can be eliminated at once, in my opinion, as being incompatible with the positive statement of Aristotle about the synchoregia in 406/5, for which no room would be left in Col. VI. An upper block of 30 lines would leave one extra line in VI; and one of 31 lines, which I believe to be far more probable, two extra lines, in view of Schweigert's measurement of Frag. *d* and the extreme likelihood that the upper block was of uniform height throughout the wall which was designed to receive the inscription. In either case, however, the result would be the same—that the synchoregic experiment was confined to the year 406/5. If the record on the upper block was of 30 lines, then in either tragedy or comedy of that year no extra line was required for the names of the two choregi (that is, the names were both short), or else one choregia was performed by a single person, who had volunteered to bear alone the expense of the poet to whom, as it happened, the prize of victory had been adjudged.

<sup>12</sup> The record of this year, however, contains 14 lines, two extra lines being required for *παλαιὸν δῶμα πρῶτο[ν] | παρεδίδαξαν οἱ τραγ[ωιδοί]*.

By way of summarizing this computation and argument the constitution of these four columns as I conceive of them is here given:

VI		VII		VIII		IX	
412/1	12	401/0	5	389/8	8	378/7	1
411/0	12	400/99	12	388/7	12	377/6	12
410/9	7	399/8	12	387/6	11 *	376/5	12
		398/7	2			375/4	6
Bottom of Upper Slabs }							
	31		31		31		31
410/9	5	398/7	10	387/6	3	375/4	6
3 yrs.	36	8 yrs.	96	8 yrs.	96	8 yrs.	96
406/5	14 *	389/8	4	378/7	11	366/5	8
4 yrs.	48						
401/0	7						
Lines	141	Lines	141	Lines	141	Lines	141

\* Two extra lines; see p. 8 and note 12.

We now come to the consideration of the heading, of which the new fragment supplies 13 letters in addition to the 12 preserved in *a*. In the gap between the  $\tau$ , the last letter in *a*, and  $\xi\Omega\iota$ , the first letters in *b*<sup>2</sup>, is room for 6 full-size letter-spaces; the restoration favored by Wilhelm, Reisch, and others is now certain,  $\tau[\omega\iota\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\acute{\nu}]\sigma\omega\iota$ .<sup>13</sup> The following letters  $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\iota\Delta\omicron\iota\Delta$  give an entirely unexpected turn to the heading, to judge by the various proposals which have been made, but  $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\omicron\iota$  is a very significant word in this position, for it must be the subject of a new clause, emphasizing at the outset the importance of tragedy in the City Dionysia; indeed, it would appear to indicate what we have been looking for—the epochal event of the democratically reorganized festival. For it can hardly be construed as modifying in any way the preceding  $\kappa\omega\mu\omicron\iota$  as an attributive, since, after prolonged debate over the meaning of  $\kappa\omega\mu\omicron\iota$  here, the view has prevailed<sup>14</sup> that  $\kappa\omega\mu\omicron\iota$  refers to the celebration as a whole—the “Festact,” as Reisch has termed it, and not, as in the law of Euagoros quoted in Demosthenes, *Meidias*, 10, a distinct event in the festival, as were the  $\rho\omicron\mu\pi\eta$  and the several contests. So, if the word represented by its initial letter delta can be satisfactorily supplied, we may have the desired definition of the event which the heading meant to emphasize. I can think of nothing more appropriate to the early years of the Democracy than the adjective  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ . It was the literary term for a festival (Thuc., II, 15, 2), for sacrifices (Plato, *Lysis*, 935 b), etc., which were sanctioned

<sup>13</sup> My proposal was  $\tau\omega[\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\ \Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ . The designation of the festival must, then, have come later in the heading.

<sup>14</sup> First urged by Lipsius, *Berichte* of the Academy of Saxony, 1885, p. 418, and developed convincingly by Reisch, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, V, s. v. *Didaskaliai*, 399. See Wilhelm, *Urkunden*, p. 12.

and maintained by the people. What followed τραγωδοὶ δημοτελεῖς must remain a matter of conjecture. Certainly the designation of the festival, ἐν ᾧσται, and the definition of the Fasti as the list of victors, in either the form used in the Victors' Lists *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2325 οἷδε ἐνίκων or in the perfect tense οἷδε νενικήκασιν. We must bear in mind that κῶμοι τῷ Διονύσῳ had long been celebrated in Attica and Athens and that tragedies also had for a generation been a conspicuous feature of the City Dionysia, though contests of the tragic poets may not have begun until the twenties of the sixth century; but these celebrations were presumably at first the performances of ἐθελονταί and not supported by the state. The great innovation commemorated in our heading was the assumption by the Demos of responsibility for the maintenance of the contests of the tribes with their dithyrambic choruses and especially of the contests of the tragic poets; and this was accomplished, not by drawing upon the public funds, but by the system of choregi, who were nominated by the tribes for the lyric events and appointed by the archon for the tragedies. Both these contests thus took on a new life and a new significance from the epoch date of the Fasti. My conception, then, of the heading as a whole is about as follows: [ἀπὸ . . . . ., ἐφ' οὗ πρῶτον κῶμοι ἦσαν τῷ Διονύσῳ, τραγωδοὶ δ[ημοτελεῖς — ἀγωνίσαντες ἐν ᾧσται οἷδε νενικήκασιν].

A few words, in conclusion, concerning the epoch year of the Fasti. In my *Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia*, pp. 28 ff., I reached the conclusion that the probable year for the admission of comedy was 487/6. In favor of that date I considered to be of secondary importance any computation that might be made of the portion of the two lost columns which preceded Frag. *a*, there being so many possibilities, but of primary importance the testimony of Suidas, s.v. Χιωνίδης: κωμικὸς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, ὃν καὶ λέγουσιν πρωταγωνιστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, διδάσκειν δὲ ἔτεσιν ἢ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν. Accordingly I reached a date "eight years before the Persian War" by applying the simple method of the ancient historians, who, in determining the intervals of time between two Attic events, simply counted the archons, including very frequently both terminal archons. So, beginning with Kalliades, archon in 480/79, the eighth is Telesinos of 487/6. It seemed hardly necessary to explain this method or to defend it by examples. Yet Wilhelm, *Urkunden*, p. 244, objects, saying: "487/6 . . . auch bei inclusiver Zählung nicht das achte vor dem Perserkriege ist." He proposes 489/8 instead, which I venture to say a Greek writer would most likely describe as ten (Kalliades . . . Aristeides inclusive), or at least as nine, years before Salamis. This period abounds in instances: it was by counting both terminal archons that Wilamowitz arrived at 501/0 for Hermokreon, now his accepted date, as being, according to Aristotle, *Pol. Ath.*, 22, 2, of "the twelfth year before Marathon" and "the fifth" after the reforms of Kleisthenes. A further, but secondary, indication favoring 487/6 for the admission of comedy to the Dionysia is that the 120 lines preceding 487/6 in the lost Col. I of the Fasti, being divisible by 8,



brings the first line of the column to the date-line of 502/1 (archon unknown), a year that is intrinsically suitable for the epoch year of the Fasti. Between the year of the democratic activity of Kleisthenes and the year of Hermokreon (505/4–501/0) was a period of considerable turmoil and readjustment of the political machinery of the state. It was not until 501/0 that there was a regularly constituted senate, duly sworn, and in that year the tribes were functioning, for the ten generals were chosen tribe-wise. It would seem to be a reasonable assumption, therefore, that in the matter of the tribal competitions the tribes were functioning by the year before Hermokreon, to which our calculation in 1903 led us. I see no reason, therefore, to modify my earlier opinion as to the date of the admission of comedy to the Dionysia, though naturally the epoch date of this inscription remains hypothetical in any event. But we have learned from the new Agora fragment of the Fasti that the fundamental innovation of the young Democracy, which marked the epoch of the Fasti, was the establishment of the choregic system of state support of tragedy, and that the competition of the tragic poets under this system was regarded as the outstanding event of the programme of the Dionysia by the author of the heading of the Fasti.<sup>15</sup>

EDWARD CAPPS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

<sup>15</sup> Grateful acknowledgments are made to the editor of *Hesperia* Dr. Paul A. Clement and to Dr. W. Kendrick Pritchett for their kindness in verifying references and for valuable criticisms, and to Dr. Antony E. Raubitschek for drafting the contents of the top slab of the inscription as they are believed by the author to have been inscribed in the eight columns which are involved in the discussion.

## GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

### NOTE ON THE EPISTATAI OF THE ATHENA PROMACHOS STATUE

2. The prescripts of the annual building accounts of the Athena Promachos statue were first restored by W. B. Dinsmoor,<sup>1</sup> who assumed that "probably three epistatae were named."<sup>2</sup> Dinsmoor's restoration had to be abandoned when B. D. Meritt showed<sup>3</sup> that "the offset of the prescript must be reduced from ten to seven letters." Meritt accepted Dinsmoor's restoration in general but assumed that the epistatai "were only two in number, in spite of the plural form in Col. III, line 9." The discovery of two new fragments in the Agora Excavations necessitated the republication of all the known fragments of the document,<sup>4</sup> but still no change was suggested for the restoration of the first two lines of the annual accounts. The preserved fragments now contain not one but four references to the epistatai,<sup>5</sup> and in all instances the plural form is used.<sup>6</sup> Dinsmoor and Meritt had to assume, moreover, that the epistatai were listed merely by their names without the addition of their demotics; this is without parallel among the similar documents of the fifth century B.C.<sup>7</sup> Another difficulty is offered by the phrase that immediately follows the word ἐπιστάται. Dinsmoor's restoration ([λέμματα πα]ρὰ κολακρετῶν) was first merely modified by Meritt ([λέμματα] π[αρὰ κολακ]ρε[τῶν]), but one of the two Agora fragments provided Meritt with the certain restoration ἔλαβ[ο]ν π[α]ρὰ κολακρετῶν [σύν]παν. This phrase is incomplete, however, without the preceding word ἐπιστάται, and, in fact, ἔλαβ[ον] is engraved in column III, line 63 in the same line with [ἐπιστάτ]αι. Since the phrase ἐπιστάται ἔλαβον παρὰ κολακρετῶν requires the addition of the figure of the sum of money given to the epistatai, the lines containing this phrase cannot have been offset as has been assumed so far. This observation makes it necessary to shorten the second lines of the so-called prescripts by another four letters. In front of ἐπιστάται there is now space for only 14 letters (in column II, line 26), 12 letters (in column II, line 55), 10 letters (in column III, line 32), and 10 letters (in column III, line 63). This space must be further reduced in column II, line 26, because this line began with the end of the word ἐγραμμάτενε, for which there is not enough space in the preceding

<sup>1</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 122, lines 31-32, and p. 123, lines 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 125, note on line 9.

<sup>3</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 473-476.

<sup>4</sup> B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 362-380, no. 4; all further references are to this publication of the inscription.

<sup>5</sup> Column II, line 72; column III, lines 32, 56, and 63.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the still unidentified accounts published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 335, line 16: [το]ῖν νέο[ιν ἐπιστάταιν].

<sup>7</sup> Compare *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 335, 340, 343, 345, 348, 363, 365, 366, 369, 370, 372.

line. Since the inscription shows syllabic division, the word ἐγραμμάτευε could have extended into the second line with four or six letters, thus leaving a space of ten or eight letters in front of ἐπι[στάται]. It is obvious that these spaces, which are from eight to twelve letters wide, cannot have been filled by two names, and, since the plural forms of ἐπιστάται and of ἐπιστάτεσι exclude the restoration of only one name, it is safe to assume that the epistatai were not mentioned by name at all.<sup>8</sup> In this case, it must be assumed that the space between the words ἐγραμμάτευε and ἐπιστάται was filled by the demotic of the secretary. None of the demotics is actually preserved, but that of Kallistratos (column II, lines 25-26) may be restored to Ἀ[χαρνεύ]ς on the assumption that Kallistratos is identical with the Athenian general of the same name.<sup>9</sup> The secretary's demotic is always engraved in the second line of the annual accounts, and it is immediately followed by the phrase ἐπιστάται ἔλαβον παρὰ κολακρετῶν σύνπαν. It may be assumed, therefore, that the first three (or four) lines of the annual accounts were one unit. But the unity would be disturbed by the restoration of the unique phrase [τῷ ἀρχῇ] and by the assumption that the first line was offset. There is, moreover, some evidence available to show that neither the first nor any other line of the account was offset. This evidence is provided by the small Fragments F + E<sup>10</sup> which have so far not been studied in this connection. These fragments belong to the first column of the whole stele since their left margin is preserved. Dinsmoor assigned them<sup>11</sup> to one of the first three years and considered the possibility of placing the large sums on opposite sides of the account. The only item in the preserved accounts which extends over four lines is the first one containing the sum turned over by the kolakretai to the epistatai. This item may be recognized in lines 3-6 of Fragments F + E, and the following restoration may be suggested:

1	[ Ϟ X Ϟ Ϟ Δ ]	[ περιεγένετο τῷ λέμματος ]
	Δ Π Ϟ Ϟ [ Ϟ Π ]	[ ἐς τὸ ἡύστερον ἔτος ].
	<i>vacat</i>	[ <i>vacat</i> ]
	Ϟ MM X Ϟ	[ --- ἐγραμμάτευε ]
5	Δ Δ Δ Ϟ Π Π Π	[ --- ἐπιστάται ἔλαβον ]
	<i>vacat</i>	[ παρὰ κολακρετῶν σύνπαν ]
	Ϟ X Ϟ Ϟ Δ Δ	[ λέμμα περιγενόμενον ]
	Π Ϟ Ϟ Ϟ Π	[ ἐκ τῷ προτέρῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ]
	Η Ϟ Δ Δ Δ Δ Π Ϟ Ϟ Ϟ Ϟ Π Π	[ ἄνθρακες καὶ χσύλα καύσιμα ]
10	MMM X X X X	[ καττιτέρο τάλαντα Η Ϟ ]
	Ϟ Η Η Η Ϟ Ϟ Ϟ	[ τιμὲ τούτο ]
	Ϟ X Η Η Η Ϟ [ Δ ]	[ χαλκῷ τάλαντα Η Ϟ Δ Δ Δ ]
	<i>vacat</i>	[ τιμὲ τούτο ]

<sup>8</sup> This has, in fact, already been suggested by W. Bannier, *Rh. Mus.*, LXI, 1906, p. 217.

<sup>9</sup> Compare *P.A.*, no. 8148; Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, pp. 49-50; *T.A.P.A.*, 1941, pp. 226-232.

<sup>10</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 338, column I, lines 1-11; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 365.

<sup>11</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, pp. 120 and 126.



The sum given by the kolakretai to the epistatai (lines 4-6: 71,531 4/6) supplements the surplus from the year before (lines 7-8: 6,578 2/6); the total amount available to the epistatai of this year was therefore the even sum of 78,110 drachmas.<sup>12</sup> This observation allows the restoration of lines 1-2 as the last item of the preceding year, indicating the surplus of that year. Lines 1-2 belong, therefore, to the accounts



I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 338

Fragments F + E

(Photograph from Squeeze)

of the first or of the second year of the entire document, lines 3-13 to the accounts of the second or of the third year. The restoration of line 9 is quite hypothetical,<sup>13</sup> and it is based on the similarity of the preserved numerals with those in column II, line 66.<sup>14</sup> The order in which the metals are listed in column II, lines 60-63, and in column III, lines 38-41 (copper and tin) has been reversed in the restoration of lines 10-13 of Fragments F + E, because the larger amount (lines 10-11: 34,852) was obviously used for tin which was much more expensive.

The price of tin can be restored with some probability in column III, lines 40-41 to ΗΗ[ΗΗΠ]-ΔΠ[Π] [κα]πιτέρο: τ[άλαντα: ΤΤ]; this means that the price of two talents was 466 drachmas. It is reasonable to expect that the price of tin varied, and the restoration of lines 10-11 of Fragments F + E is based on the assumption that the metal sold in the year of this account for approximately 233 drachmas for the talent. But the sum of 34,852

drachmas that was paid for tin represents almost exactly the price of 150 talents of the metal, each talent selling for 232 2/6 drachmas ( $232 \frac{2}{6} \times 150 = 34,850$ ). The two additional drachmas cannot be explained satisfactorily unless it is assumed that the tin was brought in amounts larger than one talent, so that the price of the whole was not a multiple of the price of one talent.

The price of copper can be restored in column III, line 38 to ΧΗ[ΗΗ]Π χαλκὸ τάλαντα[ντα: ΔΔΔΠΤΤ]; this means that the price of 37 talents was 1,301 1/6 drachmas, that is: 35 drachmas and one obol for the talent.<sup>15</sup> The restoration of line 12 of

<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the total expenditures of the sixth year (column II, line 74: more than 12,217) and the surplus of this year (column II, lines 75-76: more than 5,280) make up the total sum available to the epistatai at the beginning of the year, which probably consisted of the even sum of 17,500 drachmas; compare, however, Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>13</sup> In the other accounts, this place is taken by an item that has not yet been restored with certainty: column II, lines 30 and 59, and column III, line 37; compare *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 369.

<sup>14</sup> Compare *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 369.

<sup>15</sup> This restoration leaves no space for the addition of the word Εὐβοϊκά which is partly preserved in column II, line 60; compare *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 370 and 372.

Fragments F + E is based on the assumption that one talent of copper sold in the year of that account for 35 drachmas and 2 obols ( $35 \frac{2}{6} \times 180 = 6,315$ ).

Whatever may be the verdict concerning the restoration suggested for lines 9-13 of Fragments F-E, the correct interpretation of lines 1-8 proves beyond doubt that the first lines of the annual accounts were not offset. This observation requires a new restoration for the first lines. In front of ἐγραμμάτευε there is now space for only 16 letters in column II, line 25, for 11 letters in column II, line 54, for 10 letters in column III, line 31, and for 12 letters in column III, line 62. This space was only partly filled by the name of the secretary as is indicated by column II, lines 25-27 which may now be restorted to read:

[ . . . K ] ἀλ[λίστ]ρατος [ἐγραμ  
[μάτευε] Ἀ[χαρνεν]ς ἐπι[στάται]  
ἔλαβο]ν π[αρά κολακ]ρε[τὸν].

Assuming that in all cases the name of the secretary was preceded by a word of four letters, the names of the secretaries had between six and eight letters.<sup>16</sup> Two restorations may be suggested for the word of four letters which preceded the name of the secretary. The restoration of *hoîs* is favored by the occurrence of similar phrases in other building accounts;<sup>17</sup> but the order of words resulting from this restoration is awkward: [hoîs K] ἀλ[λίστ]ρατος [ἐγραμμάτευε] Ἀ[χαρνεν]ς ἐπι[στάται] ἔλαβο]ν π[αρά κολακ]ρε[τὸν]. The other possible restoration is: [hóte K] ἀλ[λίστ]ρατος [ἐγραμμάτευε] Ἀ[χαρνεν]ς ἐπι[στάται] ἔλαβο]ν π[αρά κολακ]ρε[τὸν]; there are several parallels for this use of the word.<sup>18</sup>

Since the epistatai of the Athena Promachos statue were not mentioned by name in the annual accounts, the only evidence for their number is contained in column II, lines 72-73. This item provides for a daily salary of 31 obols for the epistatai, their secretary, and their servant;<sup>19</sup> but this information is of little significance since it is unknown how much each of these officials received individually. Additional information, however, is supplied by an inscription from Eleusis providing for the creation of a board of five epistatai whose duties are defined: *τούτος δὲ ἐπιστάναι τοῖς χρέμασι τοῖς τοῖν θεοῖν καθάπερ ἦοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πόλει ἔργοις ἐπεστάτον τῷ νεοὶ καὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Seven letters in column II, line 54, six letters in column III, line 31, and eight letters in column III, line 62.

<sup>17</sup> Compare *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 343, line 78; 349, line 1; 352, line 1; 353, line 1.

<sup>18</sup> Compare B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, pp. 55-56. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 818 may be included in this list, since it is another copy of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 5, and its first line may be restored to read: [ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολῇ] κα[ὶ τῷ δέμοι] ἥ[ο]τ[ε] Παραιβά[τ]ε[ς] ἔγρ. κτλ.

<sup>19</sup> Compare E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 267.

<sup>20</sup> K. Kourouniotes, *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I, p. 177; compare W. Sardemann, *Eleusinische Übergabeurkunden*, pp. 12-13. This phrase has been misquoted as referring to the temple in Eleusis by G. E. Mylonas, *The Hymn to Demeter and her Sanctuary at Eleusis*, p. 50, note 48.



It has been assumed that the epistatai of the Statue were those of the Athena Promachos statue.<sup>21</sup> There is, therefore, good reason to believe that the board of epistatai of the Athena Promachos statue consisted of as many members as did the board in Eleusis, namely five. The epistatai in Eleusis received as daily salary each four obols, and their secretary, who was one of them, received the same amount. The salary of the Athenian officials was probably higher. It may be suggested, accordingly, that the epistatai of the Athena Promachos statue were five in number, including their secretary, and that they received each as daily salary one drachma; the salary of the servant was then one obol, making a total of 31 obols ( $5 \times 6 + 1 = 31$ ).<sup>22</sup>

A few words may be added concerning one of the items the restoration of which, first suggested by Meritt,<sup>23</sup> has been confirmed by the discovery of a new fragment found on the North Slope of the Akropolis.<sup>24</sup> This item ( $\gamma[. . .] \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ ) is found in column II, lines 16, 44, and 69, and in column III, lines 23 and 55, and in Schweigert's fragment, line 7. Schweigert asserted that the initial letter of column II, line 69 "seems to be A," but Meritt rightly observed<sup>25</sup> that "the initial letter preserved on the stone is a clearly cut gamma." This item may be tentatively restored to  $\gamma[\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\alpha\iota] \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ . Its price can be determined from line 69 of column II ( $[.] \Delta \Pi \vdash$ ), and the first numeral may be supplied from line 50 of column III.<sup>26</sup> The whole item was, therefore,  $\Delta \Delta \Pi \vdash \gamma[\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\alpha\iota] \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\varsigma$  (26 drachmas for earth and hair). This interpretation of column III, line 50 helps in placing Fragment Y (see Meritt's drawing, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 366), because it is now obvious that column III, lines 50 and 55 are in fact the same line. The account of the eighth year may be restored to read:

1	[---]	[hoĩs (or hótē) . . . . .] <sup>ca. 5</sup> ]: ἐγγραμμάτευε
	[---]	[ . . . . . ] <sup>ca. 9</sup> ν: ἐπιστάται
	[vacat]	[ἔλαβον πα]ρὰ κολακρετῶν
	[vacat]	[σύνπαν]
-----		
5	[---]	[λῆμμα περιγ]εν[όμεν]ον: ἐ[κ τῷ]

<sup>21</sup> Compare S. Accame, *Riv. di filol.*, XIII, 1935, p. 486, note 1; C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, II, p. 338, note 4; A. E. Raubitschek, *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, p. 478, note 11; G. E. Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 49, note 46. For the date of the Athena Promachos statue, compare also A. E. Raubitschek, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 109; W. B. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 427. The epistatai of the Temple mentioned in the Eleusis inscription would then be those of the old Athena temple which must have been restored, at least in part, after the Persian wars.

<sup>22</sup> The same relation between the salary of the epistatai and that of their servant is found in the fourth-century inscription published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1673, lines 60-61; compare *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 376; U. Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, p. 318.

<sup>23</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 372-373.

<sup>24</sup> E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 267.

<sup>25</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 476.

<sup>26</sup> The numeral Δ stands there between two horizontal lines which indicate that the whole item was engraved in one line, and that its highest numeral was a sign for ten drachmas.





## THE APHRODITE STATUE OF KALAMIS

3. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on November 24, 1937, in Section Ψ. Only part of the top seems to be preserved.

Height, 0.175 m.

Width, 0.163 m.

Thickness, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5128.

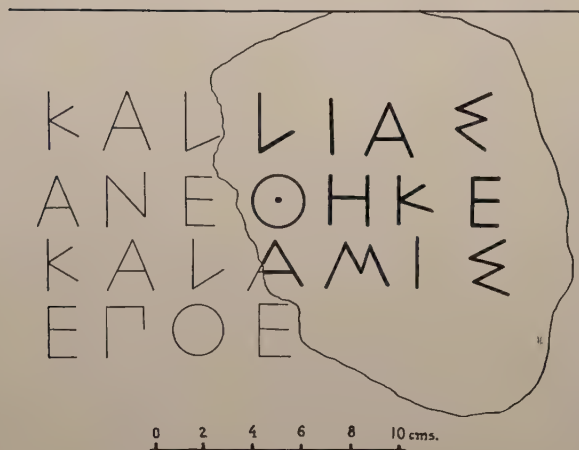
ca. 448 B.C.

[Καλ]ίας  
[ἀνέ]θηκε  
[Κάλ]αμις  
[ἐπόε].



No. 3

(Photograph from Squeeze)



Restored Drawing of No. 3

The restoration is supported by the fact that the first three lines are of equal length, and that no other restorations can be suggested for lines 2 and 3. The restoration of line 4 is made necessary by the uninscribed space preserved below the last three letters of the preceding line. The letter forms show a peculiar mixture of old Attic and Ionic writing, but with the exception of the eta in line 2 they favor a date in the forties of the fifth century.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 477-479. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 20 should be omitted from the list of inscriptions with four-bar sigma which are dated before 450 B.C. This inscription and *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 19 were engraved on the same stele, and the first two lines of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 20 belong to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 19 and contain the names of the signatories of the earlier treaty between Athens and Egesta. The remaining part of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 20 belongs to the thirties or twenties of the fifth century.

The inscription records a dedication of Kallias made by the famous sculptor Kalamis. It is tempting to recognize in this fragment part of the base of the Aphrodite statue which was seen and described by Pausanias (I, 23, 2): *παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν* [the memorial of Leaina] *ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης ὃ Καλλίου τέ φασιν ἀνάθημα εἶναι καὶ ἔργον Καλάμιδος*.<sup>30</sup> The provenance of the fragment does not contradict this combination, for fragments of other Akropolis dedications were found in the Agora.<sup>31</sup> According to Pausanias' report, the statue of Aphrodite was set up in or near the Propylaea. The Propylaea were built, however, after Kallias made his dedication. It may, therefore, be suggested that Kallias' dedication was erected originally in the sanctuary of Aphrodite west of the Propylaea,<sup>32</sup> and that the statue was moved and set up in the Propylaea when the monumental staircase was built in Roman times. The original base may have been discarded at that time, and a fragment of it may have found its way down the north slope of the Akropolis. Pausanias' words (*ὁ Καλλίου τέ φασιν . . .*) seem to indicate that he did not see the inscription itself, but that the story was told him when he admired the statue.

The statue of Aphrodite has been connected in previous publications with another base.<sup>33</sup> But even without the evidence of the fragment under discussion this identification had to be abandoned.

The letter forms of the inscription point to a date soon after the middle of the fifth century, and this date is well in keeping with the known activity of both the artist and the dedicator. The dedicator Kallias was, according to a suggestion of F. Studniczka,<sup>34</sup> the famous son of Hipponikos from the deme Alopeke,<sup>35</sup> and the occasion for the dedication was Kallias' successful conclusion of the peace with Persia in 449 B.C.<sup>36</sup>

#### A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE POTEIDAIA EPIGRAM

4. The marble base with the epigram on the Athenians who fell at Poteidaia is now in the Elgin collection of the British Museum, but a small fragment containing the ends of the last three lines was recently discovered in the Agora Excavations. The place and date of discovery of the fragment in the British Museum cannot be determined with certainty. While it was still in Athens, two drawings of this fragment

<sup>30</sup> See *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 90.

<sup>31</sup> See *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 70, nos. 10 and 12; *ibid.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 247, note 8.

<sup>32</sup> See O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 260, note 42.

<sup>33</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 607; see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 156, no. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Kalamis*, pp. 54-56 and 60.

<sup>35</sup> For him and his family, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4680; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 410; *ibid.*, VII, 1938, p. 52; *ibid.*, X, 1941, p. 27; K. Freeman, *Greece and Rome*, VIII, 1938, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>36</sup> See H. T. Wade-Gery, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. vol. I, pp. 121-156; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, pp. 156-159; cf. S. Dow, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 384.



were made by L. F. S. Fauvel, and these drawings were later in the possession of U. Köhler who made them available to A. Boeckh (*C.I.G.*, I, p. 906, note on no. 170; see p. 868). The drawings have since disappeared, but it is possible that some notes and even the original sketch are still among Fauvel's papers in Paris.<sup>37</sup> Fauvel himself may have found the stone in March, 1797, when he was investigating the ancient remains on the road leading from the Kerameikos towards the Academy of Plato.<sup>38</sup> The stone was damaged between the time when Fauvel made the drawings of it in Athens and when the inscription was first examined by E. Q. Visconti in London.<sup>39</sup> Not only was a small fragment of the inscribed surface split off (the letters of this fragment are underlined in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 945), but the rectangular base was reduced in thickness to *ca.* 0.165 m. in order to make it less heavy.<sup>40</sup> The top and bottom surfaces of the stone are still preserved, and this induced Oliver (see note 40) to doubt Boeckh's description of Fauvel's drawing. Boeckh reported that there was a relief above the inscription, and this seemed to Oliver to be at variance both with the fact that the original top of the base is still preserved, and with the correct observation that the now preserved part of the base never carried anything on its top.<sup>41</sup> But Fauvel probably examined the stone when its back was not yet sawn off, and Oliver himself conjectured that the preserved fragment was once part of a rectangular base that carried on its top a stele with the names of those who were honored by the epigram.<sup>42</sup> The suggestion may therefore be made that the relief was carved on the lower part of this stele; and this part of the stele together with the major part of the base may have been sawn off before the inscription was shipped to England. But the inscribed face of the base was already damaged when Fauvel examined the stone. According to his drawing (*C.I.G.*, I, p. 906, note on no. 170), the inscription was in almost the same condition as it is now: a thin sliver of marble was split off the top containing most of lines 1-4; in addition to that, the whole right part of the base, about one third, was broken off. The small fragment found in the Agora Excavations contains the lower part of this lost portion. It joins the piece in the British Museum on the left side, and it contains part of the original right lateral face of the base.

<sup>37</sup> See P. E. Legrand, *Rev. arch.*, XXXI, 1897, p. 99; C. G. Lowe, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 206, note 3; compare H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 78, note 24.

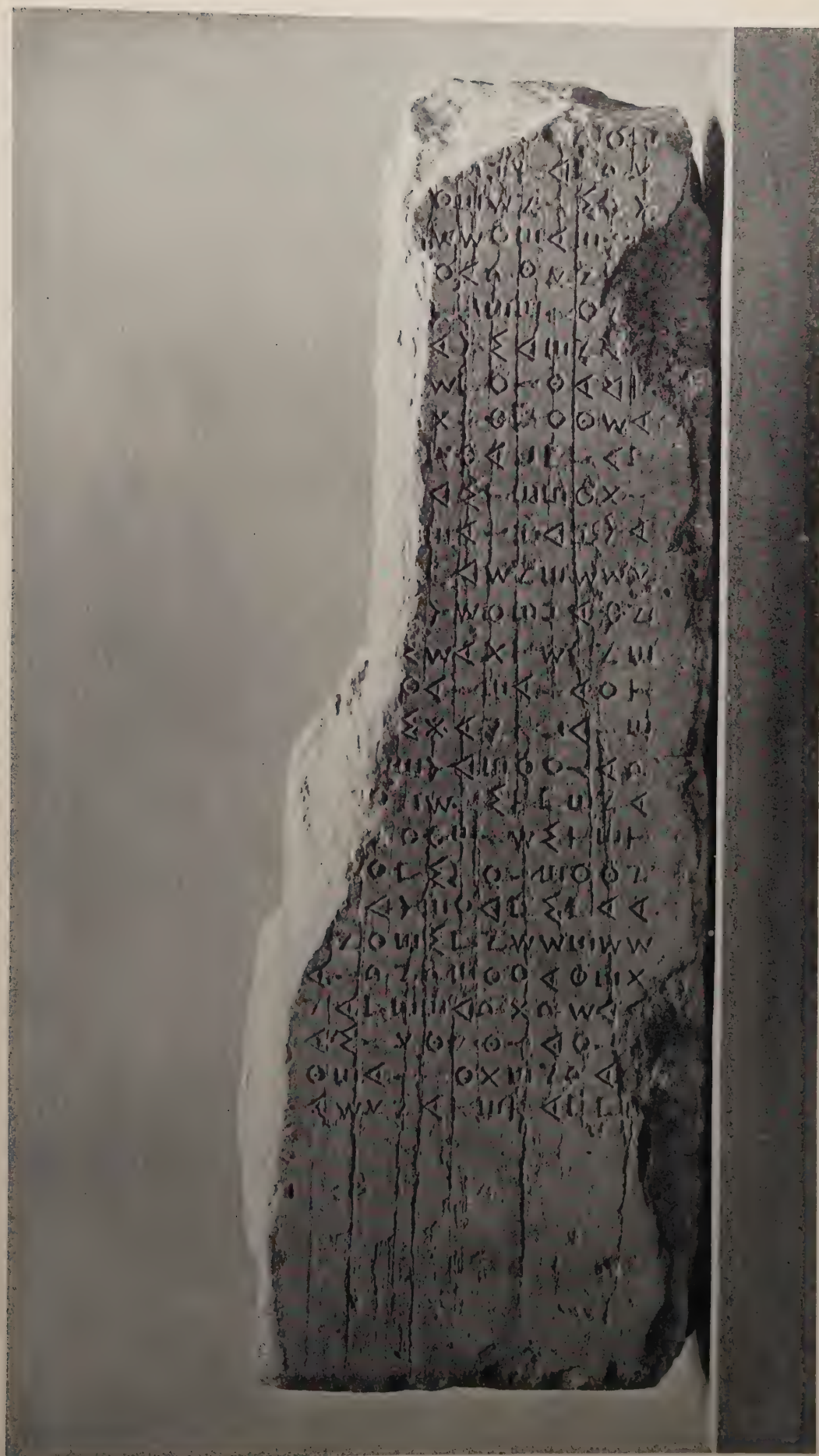
<sup>38</sup> See P. E. Legrand, *Rev. arch.*, XXX, 1897, p. 188, note 3. The stone was found in this general neighbourhood, in campis Academiae extra viam sacram, quae Athenis Eleusina ducit; see H. J. Rose, *Inscr. Graec. vet.*, p. 372. E. Q. Visconti reports (*Elgin Marbles*, p. 183, note 3): "The inscription which we are examining was found in the plain of the Academia."

<sup>39</sup> It was Visconti who first published the inscription (*Elgin Marbles*, pp. 177-205; compare A. H. Smith, *J.H.S.*, XXXVI, 1916, p. 318), and not F. Thiersch, as Boeckh declared (*C.I.G.*, I, no. 170; repeated in *I.G.*, I, 442, and *B.M.I.*, no. 37); see H. J. Rose, *Inscr. Graec. vet.*, pp. 370-387.

<sup>40</sup> This was done by the use of a saw; see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 234; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Supplement V, p. 19, note 54.

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of the relief, see A. Brückner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 228-229.

<sup>42</sup> Compare also *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 56-58.



I.G., I<sup>a</sup>, 945, Obverse Face



The fragment (Inv. No. I 2277) was found on January 2, 1935, in Section II. The filing card of the excavations indicates that possibly the bottom and the right side are preserved; this is now confirmed by the combination of the Agora fragment with the monument in the British Museum.

Height, 0.107 m.; width, 0.44 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

432 B.C.

- Ἐμ Ποτ[ειδαίαι Ἀθηναίων ἡοίδε ἀπέθανον].  
 Ἀθάνατόμ με θα[νο ---]  
 σεμαίνειν ἀρετ[ὲν ---]  
 καὶ προγόνος θενεσ[---]
- 5 νίκεν εὐπόλεμομ μνῆμ' ἔλαβομ φθ[ίμενοι].  
 Αἰθὲρ μὲμ φσυχὰς ὑπεδέχσατο σόμ[ατα δὲ χθὼν]  
 τὼνδε· Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἐλ[ύθεν]  
 ἐχθρὼν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχοσι τάφο μέρος ἡο[ίδε φηγόντες]  
 τέλχος πιστοτάτεν ἡελπίδ' ἔθεντο [βίο].
- 10 Ἄνδρας μὲν πόλις ἡέδε ποθεῖ καὶ δέ[μος Ἐρεχθὸς]  
 πρόσθε Ποτειδαίας ἡοὶ θάνον ἐμ πρ[ο]μάχοις  
 παῖδες Ἀθηναίων φσυχὰς ἀντίρρο[π]α θέντες  
 ἐ[λλ]άχσαντ' ἀρετὲν καὶ πατ[ρίδ'] εὐκλ[έ]ϊσαν.

The addition of the new fragment necessitates no change in the restorations of the last three lines as suggested by Visconti and Thiersch.<sup>43</sup> The only change that



No. 4. New Fragment of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 945

(Photograph from Squeeze)

must be recorded concerns line 5. The restorations previously suggested for this line were based partly on Fauvel's drawing and partly on a reading made by E. L. Hicks (*B.M.I.*, no. 37). The correct restoration was made by E. Powell (*Cl. Rev.*, XXI, 1907, pp. 61-62), and has now been confirmed by B. D. Meritt who was able to see traces of the first two letters of φθ[ίμενοι].<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> The various restorations suggested for lines 2-4 are too uncertain to be mentioned here; compare W. Peek, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. Vol. I, p. 100, note 1.

<sup>44</sup> H. T. Wade-Gery declared (*J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 78, note 24) that Powell's restoration "would perhaps require ἐλαβομ, which it cannot have." But Fauvel's drawing was transcribed by Boeckh as ΕΛΑΒΟΙ.Φ, and it may well be that Fauvel saw only the first slanting stroke of the mu (or the first vertical stroke of the nu) and recorded an empty space after this stroke. The immediately following letter phi is still clearly visible on the stone, and this letter was correctly recorded by Fauvel.

The addition of the Agora fragment makes it possible to determine the original length of the block; it was *ca.* 1.34 m. The epigram was symmetrically placed on the stone, and the uninscribed space of 0.18 m. on the left side was balanced by a similarly wide uninscribed space on the right side. The same was true for the heading. This was engraved in larger letters and began 0.125 m. from the left edge of the base. If it ended at about the same distance from the right edge, its length was *ca.* 1.09 m. The distance between each two of the five preserved letters is *ca.* 0.03 m., and this spacing would require a heading of approximately 36 letters. The restoration suggested by Hicks and Hill (*Greek Hist. Inscr.*<sup>2</sup>, no. 54) comprises only 25 letters, and the new restoration suggested above was made with reference to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 943, lines 1-3 and 49-51.

Φ Ο Ι Μ Ε Ν Ο Ι  
Σ Ο Μ Α Τ Α Δ Ε Χ Ο Ο Ν  
Σ Ε Λ Υ Ο Ε Ν  
Ο Σ Η Ο Ι Δ Ε Φ Υ Λ Ο Ν Τ Ε Σ  
Ε Ν Τ Ο Β Ι Ο  
Α Ι Δ Ε Μ Ο Σ Ε Ρ Ε Χ Ο Ο Σ  
Ε Μ Π Ρ Ο Μ Α Χ Ο Ι Σ  
Ι Ρ Ρ Ο Π Α Θ Ε Ν Τ Ε Σ  
Ε Υ Κ Λ Ε Ι Σ Α Ν

Position of New Fragment of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 945

A peculiar feature of the fragment in the British Museum is the anathyrosis on the left lateral face; it is uncertain whether the right lateral face was similarly treated. Oliver has already drawn the conclusion (see note 40) that the base was not free standing, but was set next to another monument. This may encourage some speculation as to the original appearance of the *δημόσιον σῆμα* to which the Poteidaia monument certainly belonged. Recent excavations in the public cemetery of Athens have shown that some of the public graves were erected in one continuous row.<sup>45</sup> The capping stones of the tomb constructions were at the same time the bases for the stelai which carried the name lists. The funeral epigrams were quite frequently inscribed on these bases, and this explains why some of the epigrams extended over two or even three slabs, although they could easily have been inscribed on only one of them.<sup>46</sup> The Poteidaia monument probably consisted of only one stele on which the

<sup>45</sup> See K. Gebauer, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 612-616, and Beilage 4.

<sup>46</sup> A chronological list of the preserved epigrams which were engraved on the bases of stelai include: 1) *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 15 (see *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 58-59). 2) *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 56-58. 3) *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1034 (see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 226). 4) *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 142-146. 5) *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5220. 6) *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 946. 7) *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5226.



150 names could easily have been engraved (see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 929). Since it was hardly possible to bury 150 bodies in a tomb the front length of which was *ca.* 1.34 m., it may



*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 945, Left Side Face

be assumed that the tomb was a cenotaph or that it contained only the urns with the ashes of the 150 men who fell at Poteidaia.

THE FIRST ATHENIAN CASUALTY LIST OF THE  
PELOPONNESIAN WAR

5. When J. J. E. Hondius published, in 1921, the small fragment of an Attic funeral list, he remarked hopefully: *speramus fore ut solum atticum alias benignius sit.*<sup>47</sup> His wish has come true, and two more fragments can now be added. The old fragment has received great attention considering its small size. Hondius had restored line 3 as [ἐν Σιν]όπαι assuming that the list belongs to the year of Perikles' expedition to that city; compare F. Miltner, *R.E.*, s.v. Perikles, cols. 774-775. A. Wilhelm proposed as alternative restoration of this line [ἐν Ἀλ]όπαι assuming that the list belongs to the year 431 B.C. when the Athenians fought and won a small engagement at Alope in Lokris.<sup>48</sup> This restoration implies that the fragment belongs to the funeral monument set up at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian war, when Perikles delivered his famous funeral oration.<sup>49</sup> If this interpretation should prove to be correct, it would explain the extremely beautiful lettering of the inscription and the almost unique size of the letters which are much larger than those of most other funeral lists of that period.<sup>50</sup> The size of the letters may be explained by the fact that the Athenians suffered only a few casualties during the first year of the War.<sup>51</sup>

There is still another funeral monument that has been assigned by some scholars to the year 431 B.C. This is the epigram *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 254 a fragment of which has been found in Athens and recognized by A. Wilhelm.<sup>52</sup> Wilhelm himself attributed this epigram to the year 457 B.C. and to the monument of the Athenian cavalry who fell at Tanagra.<sup>53</sup> A. von Domaszewski, however, rightly pointed out that the letter forms of the inscription do not favor this early date, and he suggested that the fragment may rather belong to the monument of the Athenian cavalry who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian war.<sup>54</sup> It may now be questioned whether this epigram stood on a monument that contained only the casualties among the cavalry or whether it did not rather belong to the funeral monument of all the Athenians who fell in that first year of the War. The reference to the excellence in horsemanship seems to refer

<sup>47</sup> *Mnemosyne*, XLIX, 1921, pp. 202-204, no. 2; now republished as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 944.

<sup>48</sup> *S.E.G.*, III, no. 52. Compare Thucydides, II, 26; G. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, III, p. 935, note 3.

<sup>49</sup> Thucydides, II, 34; see Busolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 938-939; L. Pearson, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXI, 1936, pp. 46-47.

<sup>50</sup> H. T. Wade-Gery, who incidentally accepted Hondius' restoration, declared (*B.S.A.*, XXXIII, 1935, p. 127, note 1) "the letters are so magnificent that a squeeze of it should be in every squeeze library."

<sup>51</sup> See F. A. Adcock, *C.A.H.*, V, p. 199.

<sup>52</sup> It is now published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 946; see F. Hiller von Gärtringen, *Hist. Griech. Epigramme*, p. 19, no. 47.

<sup>53</sup> He was followed by H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, pp. 78-79, and, more recently, by A. Cameron, *H.T.R.*, XXXIII, 1940, p. 102, note 13.

<sup>54</sup> He was followed by C. M. Bowra, *Cl. Qu.*, XXXII, 1938, p. 85. For the occurrence of four-bar sigma in Attic public documents from the middle of the fifth century, see note 29 above.



only to the cavalry action, but the decisive event of that year was the protection of the Attic plain from the invasion of the enemy. The small force of Athenian cavalrymen, supported by their Thessalian allies, gave a good account of themselves.<sup>55</sup> If the epigram is understood as referring to all the casualties, the phrase *πλείστοις Ἑλλάνων ἀντία μαρνάμενοι* becomes much more significant, for in the course of that year small engagements were fought in various distant localities, involving almost all sections of the enemy camp.<sup>56</sup> It may be suggested, therefore, that both the epigram and the fragment of the casualty list belong to one and the same monument, and that this monument honored the casualties of the first year of the Peloponnesian war, who were praised also by the funeral oration of Perikles.

The two new fragments of the casualty list add only a little to our knowledge of the monument. Fragment A was found on January 9, 1936, in Section T, and Fragment B, which joins Fragment A at the bottom, was found on March 20, 1936, in the same Section. They are of Pentelic marble and have preserved the back and the left lateral face. Along the left edge of the inscribed face is a sunken border, 0.022 m. wide.

Height (Fragments A and B), 0.41 m.

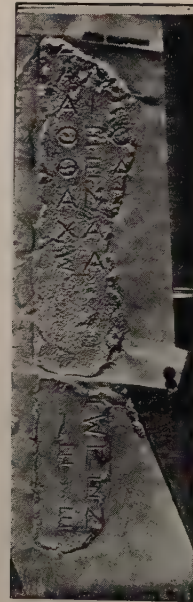
Width, 0.112 m.

Thickness, 0.235 m.-0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 3181.

Δ[---]  
 Ἀγ[---]  
 Αἰσ[---]  
 Θεο[---]  
 5 Θεα[---]  
 Ἀντ[---]  
 Χα[---]  
 Σα[---]  
 υ υ [---]  
 υ υ [---]  
 υ υ [---]  
 Ἐ[ν---]  
 10 Ἰσ[---]  
 Ἐπ[---]  
 Ἐ[ν---]  
 Ἐν[---]  
 υ [---]



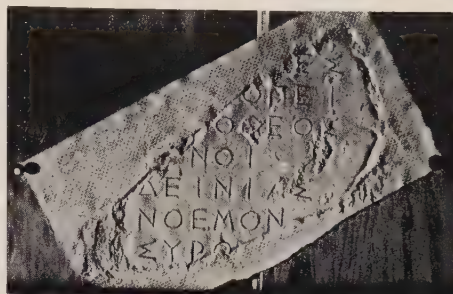
No. 5. New Fragment of I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 944  
 (Photograph from Squeeze)

<sup>55</sup> See Thucydides, II, 22; compare Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 930.

<sup>56</sup> In addition to the defensive action in the Attic plain, the Athenians sent a fleet around the

Lines 9, 12, and, possibly, 14 are set back by one space, indicating that they are captions containing the locality where the fighting took place. This arrangement is different from that on the old fragment (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 944) the text of which may here be reproduced.

[...<sup>7</sup>...]ο[ς]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>...]ες  
 [Ἐν Ἀλ]όπει  
 [Δορ]όθεος  
 5 [Χσ]ένοι  
 Δεινίας  
 Νοέμον  
 Συρότ[---]



*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 944

(Photograph from Squeeze)

Of the two captions preserved on this fragment, line 3 is in line with the name list, while line 5 is set off by one space. According to the old restoration of line 3 ([Ἐν Σιν]όπει), this line, too, would have been set off by one space. No explanation can be offered for this apparent difference between the two fragments of the same name list. They agree completely in the size and shape of the letters, so that there can be no doubt as to their connection.<sup>57</sup>

A few words may be added concerning the physical features of this monument. The thickness of the stele (0.24 m.) indicates that it must have been an impressive monument. It probably was not a free-standing stele, but it may have been set up within a frame. This is shown by the preserved left lateral face which has anathyrosis, and by the sunken band along the left edge of the front face.<sup>58</sup> In this way, the monumental character of the grave stele would have been increased.

Peloponnesos, they attacked the territory of Megara, and they sent an expedition towards Lokris; at the same time the struggle in the Chalkidike and the siege of Poteidaia continued. See Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 938.

<sup>57</sup> The letter forms of the old fragment have been compared by Wade-Gery (see note 50) with those on several other fragments which are dated in the thirties of the fifth century. Among the inscriptions which are "very much less close, but (which) use perhaps the same chisels" is one (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96) which is apparently engraved by the same hand as the funeral list under discussion. Especially the letters of the heading, which is written in larger letters, agree in every detail with those of the funeral list; see the illustration in J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, III, plate 207, no. 1. This document, however, is dated in the year 416 B.C., and would thus be fifteen years later than the casualty list. The decree published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 149 is also by the same hand; see the new restoration made by A. Wilhelm, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien*, 217, Abh. 5, 1939, pp. 80-83, no. 34. The restoration of line 3 as [Ε]ὐφρεμ[ος ἑρχε] seems now confirmed, since *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 96 was also passed in the archonship of Euphemos.

<sup>58</sup> This interpretation was given by A. Brueckner for the fragments now published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 942, 958, and 965, the lateral faces of which are dressed in a similar fashion; see *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 215-216. Brueckner referred, as a comparison, to the metopes on Greek temples. Similarly, the Hellenistic decree published by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt (*Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. 112) may have been set up within a monumental frame.





- 15 Ἐν Ἑρε[τρίαι ---]  
 γείτο[ν ---]  
 ἐλαιδ[---]  
 χοριο[---]  
 χρομε[---]  
 παρὰ τ[---]  
 20 γείτο[ν ---]  
 Ἐν Ἀνδ[---]  
 Ἐν Χαλ[κίδι ---]  
 πλέθ[ρα ---]  
 vacat  
 vacat  
 25 Ἐμ Π[οσιδείου ---]  
 πρ[---]

The restoration of Fragment A differs from that given by Kirchhoff since it is based on the assumption that the first line [Θ]εο[ί] was evenly spaced across the width of the stele, and that the first letter of this line was engraved above the first letters of the lines of the main inscription. The distance between the preserved letters of the first line is 0.145 m.<sup>60</sup> which corresponds approximately to the space occupied by



*I.G., I², 376*

(Photograph from Squeeze)

sixteen letters of the main document. The restoration of line 3 contains fifteen letters in front of the word *τῆς* the first letter of which (tau) stands exactly below the epsilon of [Θ]εο[ί]. The restoration is confirmed by the observation that lines 3, 6, and 9, all beginning with new items (as shown by the unscripted space at the end of lines 5 and 8), can be restored so as to begin at the same point. The cor-

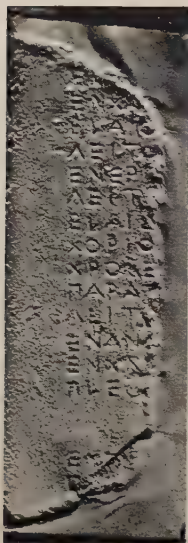
rectness of this arrangement is further proved by lines 10, 11, 14, 21, 22, 25, which all begin with the preposition *ἐν* followed by a place name. The total width of the stele can be computed from the distance between the letters of the first line (3 times 0.145 m.) and from the unscripted space in front of the inscription on Fragment B, assuming that there was an equally wide unscripted space to the right of the inscription (2 times 0.04 m.). The total width of the stele would have been, accordingly, *ca.* 0.50 m., and this width agrees very well with the preserved thickness (*ca.* 0.10 m.), judging from the normal proportion between thickness and width as 1 : 4½.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> All measurements had to be taken from a squeeze.

<sup>61</sup> See S. Dow, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 324.



This restoration of the width of the stele is at variance with the restoration suggested by Kirchhoff for line 2. It is apparent that this line was engraved later than both lines 1 and 3, for it is squeezed in between these two lines, and the first epsilon of *τεμένε* is irregularly spaced because of the epsilon of  $[\Theta]\epsilon\omicron[i]$  which partly extends into the second line. The preserved seven letters of the second line occupy a space



No. 6. New  
Fragment of  
*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 376  
(Photograph from Squeeze)

(on the squeeze) of 0.13 m., and Kirchhoff's restoration of this line with its twenty-two letters would have occupied a space of not less than 0.40 m. This would give the whole stele a total width of about 0.80 m., since the last but one letter of the second line (nu) stands about in the middle between the letters epsilon and omikron of  $[\theta]\epsilon\omicron[i]$ , thus in the middle of the stele. This width of 0.80 m., however, is incompatible with the preserved thickness of the stone (*ca.* 0.10 m.), because it would give a ratio between the thickness and the width as of one to eight. This width is incompatible, moreover, with the spacing of the first line, because it would mean that the first and last letters of this line were each *ca.* 0.18 m. distant from the left and right edges of the stele respectively; but the preserved distance between the second and third letters of this line is only 0.145 m. Finally, the restoration of lines 3, 6, and 9, as suggested here, seems to be confirmed by the preserved beginnings of lines 10, 11, 14, 21, 22, 25, while at the same time no equally convincing restoration can be found for the document as reconstructed by Kirchhoff.

Line 2: No satisfactory restoration can be suggested for this line. The uninscribed space in front of the first preserved letter, sigma, seems to indicate that this letter was preceded by an omikron.

Lines 3-5: The first of the sacred areas to be leased was located in Chalkis, near the sanctuary of Athena. It may have been the same temenos which is known from a boundary stone and from Aelian's account.<sup>62</sup> The name which is only partly preserved in line 4 is probably that of the tenant's father. Since no demotic is added, the tenant may have been a native Chalkidian or an Athenian metic; but the demotic could have been inserted between the name and the father's name. The temenos consisted of three acres (*γύαι*) of uncultivated land which measured more than 10,000 square feet (*πλέθρα*). The beginning of line 5 cannot be restored satisfactorily. The final numeral, 90 drachmas, is probably the amount of rent for one year. The lease itself was signed for ten years.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> See *I.G.*, XII, 9, no. 934; compare *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 195, no. 934. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, VI, 1: 'Αθηναῖοι κρατήσαντες Χαλκιδέων κατεκληρούχρησαν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν ἐς δισχιλίους κλήρους. τὴν Ἰππόβοτον καλουμένην χώραν, τεμένη δὲ ἀνῆκαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν τῷ Ἀηλάντῳ ὀνομαζομένῳ τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἐμίθωσαν κατὰ τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ ἐστηκνίας, αἵπερ οὖν τὰ τῶν μισθώσεων ἱπομνήματα εἶχον. For the lease of sacred ground, see K. Latte, *R.E.*, s. v. Temenos, cols. 436-437.

<sup>63</sup> See Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 47, 4: εἰσφέρει δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν ἀναγράφας

Lines 6-8: The second item concerns a temenos located in Hestiaia, in the village of Orobiai.<sup>64</sup> It is obvious that the letters Παναιτι[---] do not belong to the name of an Eretrian deme, as formerly suggested, because the locality in question is situated in the territory of Hestiaia and not of Eretria. These letters belong rather to the name of the tenant, and it may be suggested that Panaitios is identical with the man of the same name whose property was confiscated in 414/3 B.C.<sup>65</sup> The meaning of line 7 is not quite clear since the relation between ἐλαῖαι and φσιλέ is not apparent from the context. The word γείτ[ον] introduces a phrase which defined the exact location of the property in question. The numeral in line 7, twenty drachmas, is probably the amount paid as rent by Panaitios. This amount is less than a fourth of that paid as rent for the temenos described in line 3. The reference to olive groves in lines 7, 12, and 16 provides additional evidence for the character of the land confiscated by the Athenians.<sup>66</sup>

Line 9: The new reading suggested for this line makes it possible to restore it in accordance with lines 3 and 6. Thus the third item to be listed was a temenos located in Eretria, in the deme Aigale or Aigaleai.<sup>67</sup>

Line 10: This line as well as line 24 began with a place name the first letter of which was probably a pi since the preposition ἐν was rendered as ἐμ. The names of two of the better-known cities in Euboea begin with the letter pi: Posideion and Porthmos.<sup>68</sup> The restoration of either name is possible, but we have no evidence for the existence of Porthmos in the fifth century B.C.

ἐν γραμματεῖ[οις λε]λε[ν]κωμένοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡ μὲν μίσθωσις εἰς ἑττὴ δέκα. Compare *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377, line 21.

<sup>64</sup> See J. Schmidt, *R.E.*, s. v. Orobiai.

<sup>65</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 326, line 11; see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 72, no. 23, line 14. Among the many still unpublished fragments of this document there is one (I 236 f) which contains a list of agricultural products under the heading ἐν Ἐρετρίαι. Two other fragments of the same inscription (I 236 g and s) contain references to the property of Oionias, son of Oionochares, from Atene, which was located ἐλ Δελάντο[ι πεδίοι]; for Oionias, see *R.E.*, s. v. Oionias.

<sup>66</sup> See Herakleides as quoted by F. Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 33, note 2: Ἡ δὲ χώρα πᾶσα αὐτῶν ἐλαιόφυτος; compare also p. 16, note 5. This reference should be added to those given by A. S. Pease, *R.E.*, s. v. Ölbaum, col. 2002, lines 36-46.

<sup>67</sup> For this deme, see F. Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 73, no. 1; *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 164, lines 99-101. It does not seem necessary to identify the island Αἰγλεία which belonged, according to Herodotos (VI, 107), to Styra with the Eretrian deme Aigale; see Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 109; H. Diels, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1908, p. 1042, note on line 3; Creutzburg, *R.E.*, s. v. Styra, col. 455, lines 26-27; B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 551, s. v. Στυρῆς. Herodotos does refer, however, to this Eretrian deme in one of the preceding paragraphs (VI, 101): οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς χώρας κατὰ Ταμύνας καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεια. For Ταμύνας the codices give τέμενος; see Fiehn, *R.E.*, s. v. Tamynai. The name of Χοιρέας is preserved in the demotic Χοιρῆθεν (*I.G.*, XII, 9, no. 222, line 1), and in Αἰγίλεια may be recognized the name of the Eretrian deme the demotic of which occurs as Αἰγαλῆθεν (*I.G.*, XII, 9, no. 243, lines 8-9). The text of Herodotos is apparently corrupt in this place, and the name of the deme cannot be restored with certainty; the demotic was certainly Αἰγαλῆθεν.

<sup>68</sup> For Posideion, see F. Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 88, note 2; B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and



Line 21: This line begins with *ἐν* followed by a place name the first three letters of which are *Ἀνδ*[---]. No Euboian city of this name is known, and it may be tempting to assume that the temenos located *ἐν Ἀνδ*[---] was on the island of Andros. On this island an Attic colony was established either in 450/49 B.C. or some years later, and it is conceivable that there was sacred property of Athena on the island.<sup>69</sup> This, however, would be the only indication that the document contained a record of sacred areas which were located in places other than on Euböia, and the restoration should therefore be considered as hypothetical.

The inscription contains a record of the lease of sacred property on Euböia.<sup>70</sup> The date of the document cannot be determined with certainty. It must be later than the conquest of Euböia which followed the revolt in 446 B.C., and it must be earlier than 411/10 B.C. when Euböia again revolted from Athens. The letter forms of the inscription do not favor a date in or shortly after 446 B.C., but they seem to belong rather to the period around 420 B.C. Very little is known of the relations between Euböia and Athens in the period between the two revolts.<sup>71</sup> A passage in Demosthenes may be of some significance (XX, 115; see also Plutarch, *Aristeides*, 27): *ὅτι Λυσιμάχῳ δωρεῖαν, ἐνὶ τῶν τότε χρησίμων, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πλέθρα γῆς πεφυτευμένης ἔδοσαν, ἑκατὸν δὲ ψιλῆς, ἔτι δ' ἀργυρίου μνᾶς ἑκατόν, καὶ τέτταρας τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμάς. καὶ τούτων ψήφισμ' ἔστ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα γέγραπται.* If this event should be dated shortly after the death of Aristeides, it must be assumed that it was Alkibiades the elder who honored the son of his friend Aristeides.<sup>72</sup> In this case Lysimachos would have been one of the thousand colonists who went with Tolmides to Euböia. This expedition is dated by Diodoros (XI, 88) in the year 453/2 B.C., but this date has not been accepted in recent years.<sup>73</sup> It is quite possible, however, that the honors granted to Lysimachos were proposed by the younger Alkibiades, thus many years after the death of Aristeides.<sup>74</sup> In that case, they may belong in the period when Alkibiades entered politics. According to the author of Andokides, IV, 11, Alkibiades *πρώτον μὲν οὖν πείσας ὑμᾶς τὸν φόρον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τάξαι τὸν ὑπ' Ἀριστείδου*

M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 541-542. For Porthmos, see *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 152, lines 50-58; J. H. Young, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 166.

<sup>69</sup> See H. Nesselhauf, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Delisch-attischen Symmachie*, p. 130; Graf Stauffenberg, *R.E.*, s. v. Tolmides, col. 1682, lines 55-68.

<sup>70</sup> For general information concerning the Athenian property on this island, see U. Kahrstedt, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1931, pp. 161-168; H. Nesselhauf, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-140; U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet*, pp. 32-35; F. Hampl, *Klio*, XXXII, 1939, pp. 13-18; F. Hiller von Gärtringen, *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), pp. 204-205.

<sup>71</sup> See the testimonia in *I.G.*, XII, 9, pp. 149-150.

<sup>72</sup> See J. Toepffer, *R.E.*, s. v. Alkibiades, col. 1516, lines 5-13; compare T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 361-362; C. Roebuck, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 247-248, no. 296.

<sup>73</sup> See *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 478-479.

<sup>74</sup> See *I.G.*, XII, 9, pp. 149-150 (initio belli Peloponn.); A. Jardé, *Les Céréales*, pp. 92 and 121; Stähelin, *R.E.*, s. v., Lysimachos, no. 4; U. Kahrstedt, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1931, p. 164; *Staatsgebiet*, p. 33.

πάντων δικαιοτάτα τεταγμένον, αἰρεθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ δέκατος αὐτὸς μάλιστα διπλάσιον αὐτὸν ἐκάστοις τῶν συμμάχων ἐποίησεν. This statement was interpreted by W. Kolbe as meaning that Alkibiades belonged to the *τάκται* who were responsible for the assessment of 425 B.C.<sup>75</sup> This interpretation is in accordance with the restoration of the Assessment decree as now proposed by B. D. Meritt and A. B. West.<sup>76</sup> It may be assumed, therefore, that Alkibiades was in 425/4 B.C. the chairman of the board of the ten *taktai* who were to make the new tribute assessment.<sup>77</sup> Alkibiades may at this time have proposed to honor the son of Aristides in order to show his personal esteem for the man who assessed the first tribute more than fifty years earlier.

It so happens that in exactly the same period (*ca.* 425 B.C.) the Athenians made an attack on Euboia. This event is recorded only in a scholion on Aristophanes' *Wasps*, line 718: τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν δύναται καὶ αὐτὰ συνᾶδεν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις. πέρυσι γὰρ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἰσάρχου ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὡς Φιλόχορος. According to this statement the expedition would have taken place in the year 424/3 B.C.,<sup>78</sup> and it is possible that this military action ultimately led to the Athenian defeat at Delion. It is also possible, however, that this attack on Euboia should be dated not in the year 424/3 B.C. but rather in 426/5 B.C. In this year, too, the Athenians were fighting in Boiotia (Thucydides, III, 91, 3-6), and these events are dated by Diodoros in the archonship of Isarchos (XII, 65, 3-5).<sup>79</sup> The reason for the attack on Euboia, if it is dated 424/3 B.C., may have been unrest on the island in consequence of the increase of the tribute. If the action belongs, however, to the year preceding the assessment of 425 B.C., the suggestion may be made that the Athenians tried to increase their holding on Euboia in order to secure a sufficient food supply for Attika which was threatened by the yearly invasions from the enemy.<sup>80</sup> This interpretation is indicated by the lines of Aristophanes (*Wasps*, lines 715-718) the scholion to which contains the reference to Philochoros quoted above. There the poet says: τὴν Εὐβοίαν διδόασιν ὑμῖν καὶ σῖτον ὑφίστανται κατὰ πεντήκοντα μεδίμνους ποριεῖν. At that time (426/5 B.C.) a new list of the sacred property may have been drawn up, and the fragments under discussion may belong to this document.

<sup>75</sup> *Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1930, pp. 352-354; compare, however, M. N. Tod, *Greek Hist. Inscriptions*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>76</sup> *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*, pp. 88-90; compare S. Dow, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXII, 1941, pp. 82, note 16, and 84.

<sup>77</sup> See *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, Chapter V, A 9, lines 8-9: *ἡ δὲ β[ολὴ τὰς ἐχσελέ]σθω [αὐτίκα μάλα δέκα ἄνδ]ρας*. Kolbe, however, who suggested that Alkibiades was one of the *taktai*, now assumes that the *taktai* were eight in number (*Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1937, pp. 11-13), although Alkibiades was chosen *δέκατος αὐτός* (Andokides, IV, 11).

<sup>78</sup> See *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 290, lines 68-75; compare *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 150, lines 20-29; F. Geyer, *R.E.*, s. v. Euboia (Suppl. IV), col. 438, lines 31-37.

<sup>79</sup> Compare G. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, III, p. 707, note 6.

<sup>80</sup> For the importance of Euboia as a supply base, see G. Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 1507, note 1; A. Jardé, *Les Céréales*, p. 194, note 1.



## AN ELEUSINIAN INVENTORY FROM ATHENS

7. The small fragment of an inventory, found in Eleusis, was first published by D. Philios and is here illustrated for the first time.<sup>81</sup> J. J. E. Hondius published

another fragment of an inventory which may well belong to the same stele or to a copy of the same inscription set up in Athens.<sup>82</sup>



*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 318

(Photograph from Squeeze)

Wade-Gery reported (see note 81) that a third fragment of the same inscription is kept in the Museum of Eleusis, and he kindly supplied an illustration and the following notes. The fragment carries the inventory number 744 and has the top as well as the back preserved. Its thickness is 0.16 m., its height (measured on the squeeze) *ca.* 0.39 m. The fragment published by Hondius (see note 82) was ap-

parently reused, and the new fragment too shows traces of a second use. According to the squeeze, a deep groove was cut parallel to the stoichoi of the inscription, and this groove has the width of eight letter spaces. Part of the original(?) surface seems to be preserved to the right of the groove, but no traces are visible on the squeeze, and none have been observed on the original by Wade-Gery. It is possible that this part of the inscribed surface was worked over when the stone was reused. The first line of the inscription is *ca.* 0.03 m. distant from the top.

## ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- [---] Κυθνιό[θεν ---]  
 [--- εν]ιον τόκοι νο[μίσματος ---]  
 [---]ν τῆς δίκης τ[---]  
 [--- μίσθ]οσις Στυρόθ[εν ---]  
 5 [---]τον χαρετεί[ον χρεμάτον ---]  
 [---]λίθοι ἐπράθ[εσαν ---]  
 [---]†† □□ σχοίνον [---]  
 [---]ΔΔΔ†††|| □□ ἀνα[λόματα ---]

<sup>81</sup> Έφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, plate opposite cols. 47-48, no. 44, cols. 53, no. 44, and 56; compare *I.G.*, I, suppl., p. 173, no. 225 h; W. Larfeld, *Handbuch*, II, p. 20; E. Cavaignac, *Le trésor sacré d'Éleusis jusqu'en 404*, pp. 8, no. 5, and 23; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 318; J. J. E. Hondius, *Novae Inscr. Atticae*, pp. 92 and 94, notes 9-11; *S.E.G.*, III, p. 10, no. 37 and note on no. 35; H. T. Wade-Gery, *B.S.A.*, XXXIII, 1935, p. 135.

<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 91-107, no. 13, and plate 7.

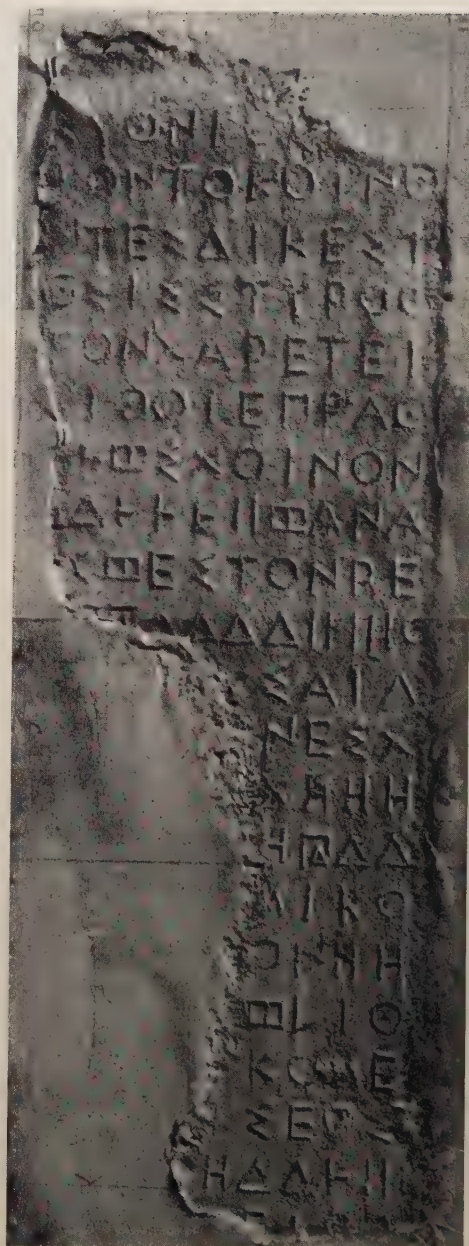
- [---]C □□ ἐς τὸν 'Ρε[τὸν ---]  
 10 [---]Π Π Δ Δ Δ Ι Ι Ι Ι Ζ [---]  
 [---]χσαι γ[---]  
 [---]όνες χ[---]  
 [---]Χ Η Η Η [---]  
 [---]Η Π Δ Δ [---]  
 15 [---]μικο[---]  
 [---]ον Η Η [---]  
 [---]□□ λίθ[οι ---]  
 [---]ἀφ]ικομε[νο ---]  
 [---]ἡεμ]ίσεος [---]  
 20 [---]Η Δ Δ Η Ι Ι □□ [---]  
 [---]ΕΙΝΙ[---]

The restorations of lines 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 18, and 19 were suggested by Wade-Gery. For the restoration of line 5, see line 7 of Hondius' fragment.

The mention of Kythnos and Styra in lines 1 and 4 is significant, since it is known that the Eleusinian sanctuary had sacred land on Kythnos.<sup>83</sup> The same can now be deduced also for Styra. It may be merely a coincidence that both Kythnos and Styra were old settlements of the Dolopes, as Herodotos reports (VIII, 46).

For the mention of 'Ρε[τὸν] (line 9), Wade-Gery refers to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 81 which is dated in 421/20 B.C. It is also possible, however, that this phrase should be transcribed as ἐῖς τὸν ῥῆ[τὸν ---]; see note 86.

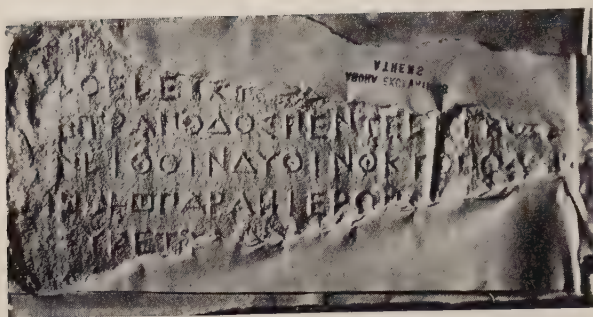
The distinguishing feature common to all three inscriptions is the peculiar punctuation mark consisting of three shorter, vertical, and two longer, horizontal, strokes which form a rectangle with a dividing line in the middle. Some of the paragraphs begin with the word *παρά*, and all of them end with a numeral. An inscribed fragment from the Agora shares these peculiarities with the three fragments from Eleusis and may therefore be part of a similar document.



New Eleusis Fragment of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 318  
(Photograph from Squeeze)

<sup>83</sup> See *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 313, line 147; compare E. Cavaignac, *op. cit.*, p. 28; W. Sardemann, *Eleusinische Übergabeurkunden*, pp. 27-28; U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige*, p. 32.





No. 7. Copy of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 318  
(Photograph from Squeeze)

Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on March 9, 1936, in Section P. The inscribed face, the left lateral side, and the back are preserved.

Height, 0.135 m.

Width, 0.29 m.

Thickness, 0.133 m.

Height of letters, 0.01-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 3749.

ca. 424 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[.] □□ πα[ρὰ ---]  
 ὕλο Ἐλευσι[νίῳ ---]  
 τετράποδος Πεντελεϊκῷ Δ[---]  
 [.] ν λίθοιν δυοῖν ὀκτοπόδ[ο]ι[ν ---]  
 5 Η □ □ παρὰ ἱεροποιοῖ[ον Ἐλευσίνι ---]  
 χσυνεται[όνος καὶ χσυναρχόντον ---]  
 [.] Δ[! ---]

Line 5 confirms Larfeld's restoration of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 318, lines 3-4 as παρὰ ἡ[ιεροποιῶν Ἐλευσίνι *nomen demoticum*]ν καὶ χσυναρχ[όντον ---].<sup>84</sup> Similarly, *S.E.G.*, III, no. 35, lines 4-5 may now be restored as παρὰ ἡ[ιεροποιῶν Ἐλευσίνι *nomen* Ἀ]λοπεκῆθεν, although this phrase cannot have been followed here by the words καὶ χσυναρχόντον, since a delta is preserved after [Ἀ]λοπεκῆθεν.<sup>85</sup>

The character of the document to which the four fragments belong is not quite clear. The paragraphs beginning with παρὰ contain accounts of payments made by the hieropoioi, by a prytany of the council, by the board of epistatai (?), and by several individuals. These payments were probably contributions made for the building of the Eleusinian sanctuary. In addition to these items there are others some of which apparently refer to payments resulting from interests of loaned money, while one contains, as Hondius suggested, a reference to a sum of money which came from the tithe of the ransom of prisoners of war. Hondius assumed that this ransom was received by the Athenians on the occasion of their invasion of Megara in 424 B.C., and this identification would provide an accurate date for the inventory.<sup>86</sup> The first preserved item of Hondius' fragment (line 2) is of special significance because it

<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 20; the restoration of the proper name is, of course, purely hypothetical.

<sup>85</sup> See Hondius, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 and 101.

<sup>86</sup> Thucydides, IV, 69, 3: οἱ ἐν τῇ Νισαίᾳ . . . ἐνέβησαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ῥητοῦ μὲν ἕκαστον ἀργυρίου ἀπολυθῆναι ὅπλα παραδόντας. See W. Kolbe, *Berl. phil. Woch.*, XLVI, 1926, col. 1162.

contains a reference to the payment of more than 1,870 drachmas; whether or not this payment was made by the *mystai* mentioned in line 1 cannot be decided, but it seems probable. The following item (lines 2-3) has been restored by Hondius (*op. cit.*, pp. 91 and 101) as [πόλεις προ]τμεμάτων ?? β[οείον], but the restoration [περι]τμεμάτων is also possible; see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 363, line 26; II<sup>2</sup>, 1436, line 61.

The only two items which do not seem to belong in a list of payments are contained in lines 3 and 4 of the new fragment. Mention is made here of one block of Pentelic marble which was four feet long and of two other blocks which were each eight feet long. These items may be compared with lines 6, 7, and 17 of Wade-Gery's fragment and with the inventories published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 313 and 314 in which (lines 83 ff. and 92 ff.) various stones are mentioned.

Wade-Gery already observed that *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 318, *S.E.G.*, III, no. 35, and the fragment discovered by him may well belong to the same document if not to the same stele. The new fragment which was excavated in the Agora of Athens cannot belong to the same stele as the other three fragments. Its thickness is different from that of Wade-Gery's fragment, and the letter forms as well as the spacing of the lines are not exactly the same as those of the three fragments from Eleusis. It may therefore be assumed that the Agora fragment belongs to a copy of the Eleusinian inscription which was set up in the Eleusinion in Athens.

## THE CASUALTY LIST OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION

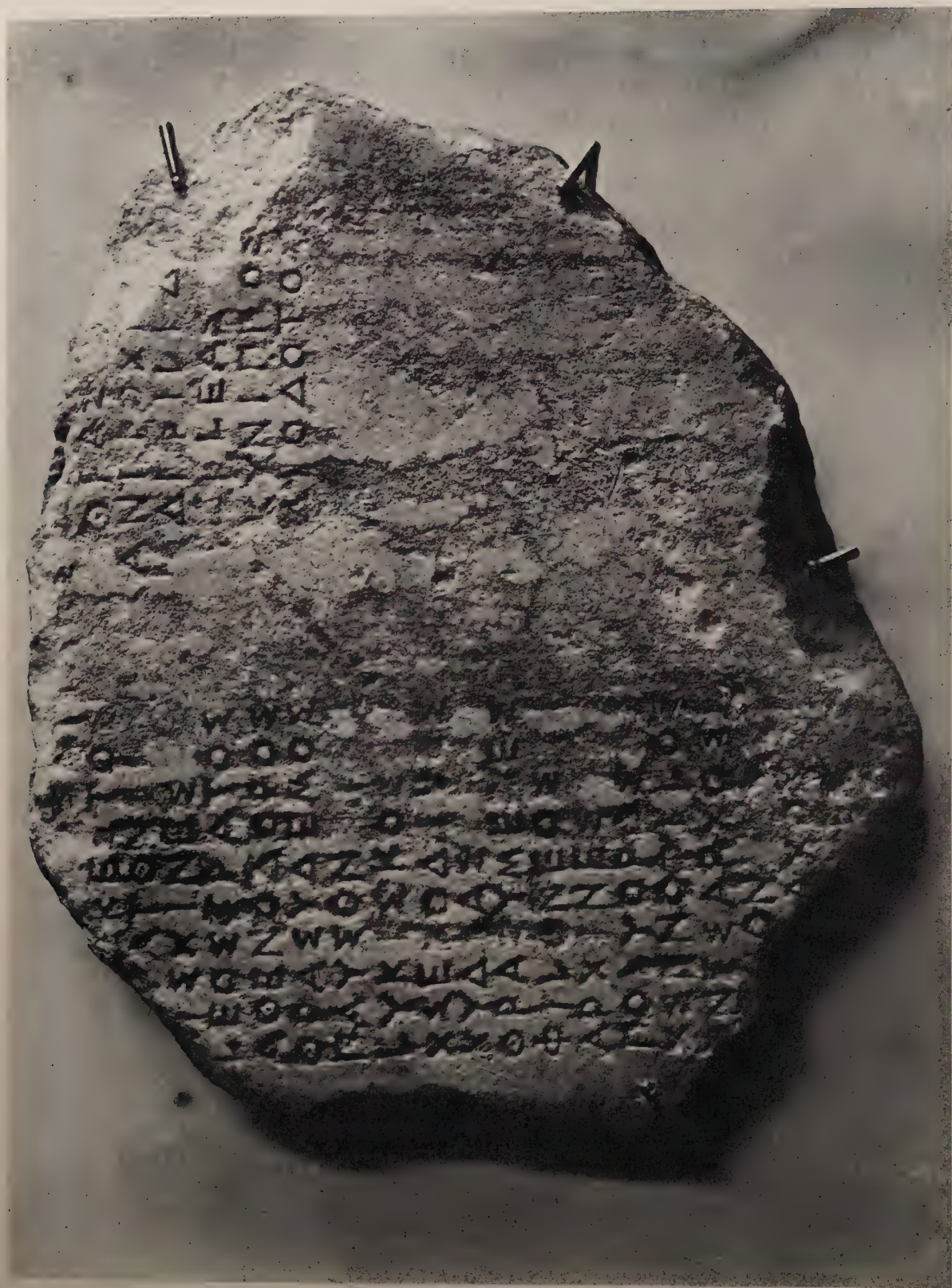
8. When B. D. Meritt published eight fragments of a funeral list which was engraved on at least three stelae he was unable to study Fragment H (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 954).<sup>87</sup> In the meantime, a plaster cast and a photograph of this fragment, which is now kept in Leningrad, have reached the Institute for Advanced Study, and an examination of both show that Meritt's attribution was correct. No information concerning the thickness of the fragment is yet available, but one may judge from the photograph that only a few centimetres of the original thickness of *ca.* 0.15 m. are preserved. The width of the column and the spacing, both vertical and horizontal, agree only in general with those of the other fragments. The width of the first column of Fragment H<sup>88</sup> is 0.17 m. (measured on the plaster cast), while the width of the first column of Fragment E<sup>89</sup> is 0.19 m. (measured on the squeeze). In the vertical spacing,

<sup>87</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 82-91, no. 10; see *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 251, note 186. The fragments A, D, E, G, and H, previously published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 964, 957, and 954, had already been combined by A. Wilhelm (*S.E.G.*, III, no. 53; see *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 183, note 146). In Meritt's publication, the name of Ἀντιφ[όν] should be inserted between lines 216 and 217 (p. 89), and line 245 (p. 90) should be read as [Διο]γνισοφάνες. All references given here are to the lines of Meritt's publication.

<sup>88</sup> Measured from the centre of the first letter of line 258 (Θρασύδεμος) to that of the first letter of line 281 (Δώδοτος).

<sup>89</sup> Measured from the centre of the first letter of line 178 (Φιλίνος) to that of the first letter of line 211 (ἡππόμενος).





*Hesperia*, VII, No. 10, Fragment H (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 954)

Fragment H agrees with the average spacing of the other fragments (see Meritt, *loc. cit.*, p. 85), but the horizontal spacing is much narrower. Ten letters, measured on centres, occupy a horizontal space of 0.11-0.112 m. on Fragment H as compared with an average space of 0.12 m. on the other fragments (see Meritt, *loc. cit.*, p. 85). This difference is significant because Fragment H agrees in this respect with one of the new fragments (I).

Fragment I was found on October 7, 1938, in Section BB; it was immediately upon discovery recognized by the excavators as belonging to the monument which had just been published by Meritt, and it was given the Inventory Number I 1008 c. The fragment is broken on all sides, but the back is preserved. The thickness is recorded as being 0.144 m., while the original thickness of the other fragments, as far as preserved, is 0.155 m. (see Meritt, *loc. cit.*, p. 82). This difference may indicate that Fragment I does not belong to the same stelae as Fragments A-G; it may belong to the same stone as Fragment H the back of which apparently is not preserved. Fragment I agrees in the vertical spacing of the lines with the other fragments, but the horizontal spacing of its letters is as narrow as that of Fragment H (see above). It may be assumed, therefore, that Fragment I belongs either with Fragment H to one stele or that it is part of a fourth stele of which no other fragment has been recovered so far.

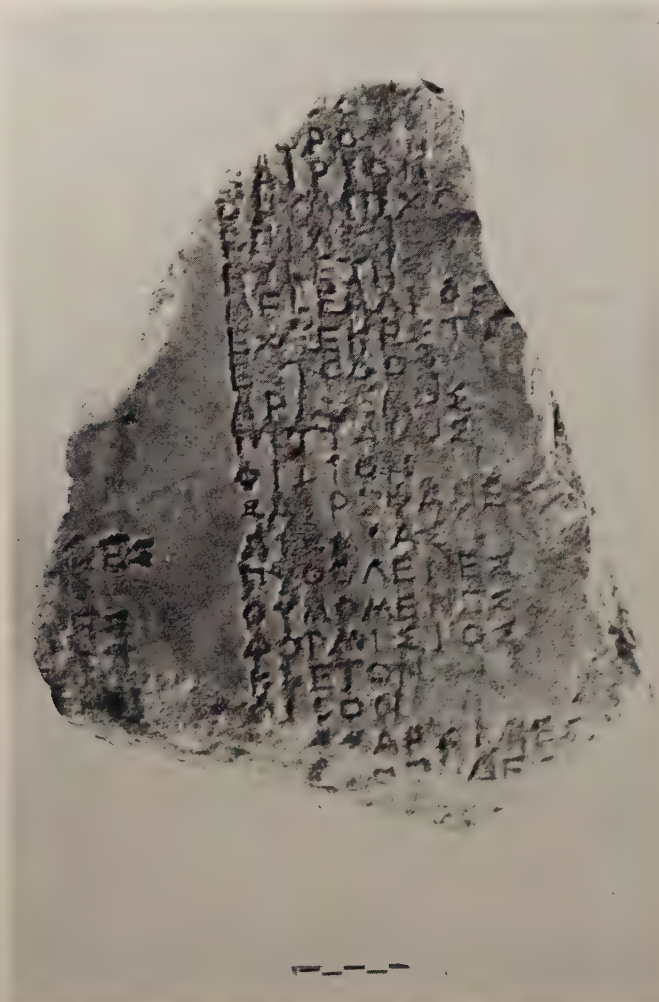
## Fragment I

- |    |                  |
|----|------------------|
|    | [ . . . ]σο[---] |
| 5  | [Εὐ]φρο[---]     |
|    | Χαιρίον          |
|    | ᾽Ολύμπιχο[ς]     |
|    | ᾽Επιγένες        |
|    | Εύρέτες          |
| 10 | Μελέαγρος        |
|    | ᾽Εχσεκεστί[δες]  |
|    | ᾽Εσίοδος         |
|    | ᾽Αρί[δ]εμος      |
|    | Πίτταλος         |
| 15 | Φιλίον           |
|    | Χαιρεφάνες       |
|    | Αἰχμίας          |
|    | Πυθογένες        |
|    | Θυμομένες        |
| 20 | Φορμίσιος        |
|    | Κλέτον           |
|    | Φίλον            |
|    | [Μνε]σαρχίδες    |
|    | [ . . . π]πίδες  |

[ - <sup>9</sup>/<sub>10</sub> - ][ - <sup>9</sup>/<sub>10</sub> - ][ - <sup>9</sup>/<sub>10</sub> - ][ - <sup>8</sup>/<sub>10</sub> - ] ἔλες[ - <sup>8</sup>/<sub>10</sub> - ][ - <sup>8</sup>/<sub>10</sub> - ] δες[ - <sup>10</sup>/<sub>10</sub> - ]ς



Assuming that the width of the column to which lines 1-3 belong was the same as that of the first column of Fragment H, eight letters would have preceded the letters [---]ἐλες of line 1.



No. 8. New Fragment (I) of *Hesperia*, VII, No. 10

Several of the names are rare or unique among the known names of Athenians. For Heures (line 9), see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1395, lines 8-9. Meleagros (line 10), Hesiodos (line 12), and Aridemos (line 13) are not to be found elsewhere in Athens. Pittalos (line 14) may now be attested for the third century B.C.<sup>90</sup> Aichmias (line 17) and

<sup>90</sup> See *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 243, no. 47, line 54; compare also Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, line 1032; *Wasps*, line 1432; *Et. Magnum*, p. 673, line 35.

Thymomenes (line 19) seem to be new in Athens, but their elements are known from other Attic names. Kleiton (line 21) is attested only once; see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7278. Any identification of the names is hazardous, but it may be pointed out that some of the names which do not sound Attic may well belong to Plataeans who had received Athenian citizenship.<sup>91</sup>

Fragment J was found on December 3, 1934, in Section O. The roughly picked top is preserved, but it is otherwise broken all around.

Height, 0.19 m.

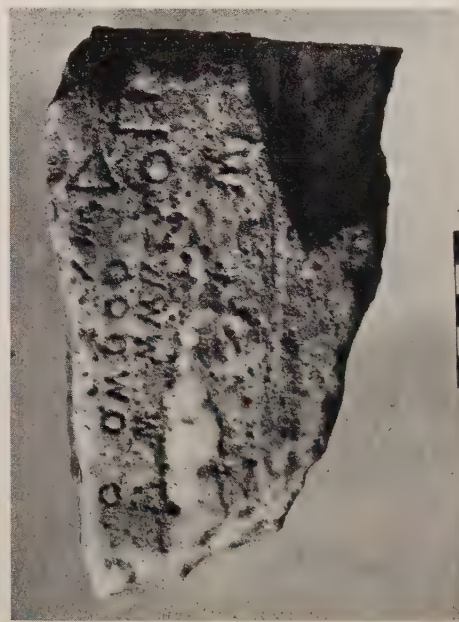
Width, 0.109 m.

Thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters: line 1, 0.023 m.; line 2, 0.011-0.014 m.; lines 3-10, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 2149.

[---] E[---].  
 [---] ἰ]δός  
 [ca. 5] s  
 [ca. 5] χός  
 5 [ca. 5] μός  
 [ca. 5] πός  
 [ca. 5] ός  
 [ca. 6] ός  
 [ca. 6] vacat  
 10 [ca. 6] ός  
 [ca. 6] vacat



No. 8. New Fragment (J) of  
*Hesperia*, VII, No. 10

At the time when Fragment J was unearthed, S. Dow observed that both the lettering and the spacing of the new fragment were the same as those of some of the inscriptions recording the sale of the confiscated property of the Hermokopidai.<sup>92</sup> This observation applies in fact to all the fragments of the funeral list here under discussion. It readily appears from a study of the squeezes and photographs that some of the records of the poletai and the entire funeral list were engraved by the same hand. In addition to size, form, and spacing of the letters themselves, in all of which both monuments agree, the thickness of the stelai and the quality of the marble used in both are also comparable.<sup>93</sup> If both monuments were engraved by the same

<sup>91</sup> See U. Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige*, p. 354, notes 4 and 5.

<sup>92</sup> See *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 47-49, no. 35; VIII, 1939, pp. 69-76, no. 23.

<sup>93</sup> The thickness of the stelai with the name list varies between 0.144 and 0.155 m., that of the stelai recording the confiscated property between 0.13 and 0.15 m.; see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 72.



stonecutter, this may have taken place at one and the same time. This assumption would provide a rather accurate date for the funeral list, since the sales records were engraved in or shortly after 414/3 B.C.<sup>94</sup>

The significance of Fragment J lies in the fact that it contains part of the top with remains of the general heading (line 1) which was inscribed in large letters across the top of all stelai. Moreover, below this heading, in somewhat smaller letters, there are preserved the last three letters of the name of a tribe (line 2). The spacing of the letters of this line (*ca.* 0.023 m.) is approximately twice that of the letters of the name list. The width of the columns of the name list varies between 14 and 16 letter spaces (see Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 86-90), which would correspond to *ca.* 7 letter spaces of the wider spaced heading. The shortest tribal name would just fill this space, but the last letter of the tribal name preserved on Fragment J stands in fifth or sixth place to judge from the uninscribed space preserved after lines 3-5.<sup>95</sup> It is obvious, therefore, that even the shortest tribal name, if restored in line 2, could not have begun at the same point as the first letters of the name list below it. If all the names of the tribes, as seems likely, were engraved at the head of columns, it is clear that each tribal name must have stood above at least two columns of names.<sup>96</sup>

Only Fragment H does not conform to the arrangement described above. There, in the last column of the whole monument (see Meritt, *loc. cit.*, p. 85), a list of casualties belonging to all ten tribes seems to have been engraved in one column. The only preserved tribal name (line 277) is written with letters of the same size and spacing as the name list itself, and it may be assumed that this last column contained the casualty list of some smaller engagement.<sup>97</sup>

The scheme of filling one or more columns of a name list with the casualties of

<sup>94</sup> See B. D. Meritt, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 144; J. Hatzfeld, *R.E.A.*, XLI, 1939, p. 313, note 8.

<sup>95</sup> There is an uninscribed space to the right of line 4 corresponding to six letter spaces of the name list. Assuming that the next column of names began immediately after this uninscribed space, the last letter of line 4 (sigma) would be the eighth, the ninth, or the tenth letter of the name to which it belongs. This is confirmed by the observation that the majority of the names have between eight and ten letters. The omikron of the tribal name (line 2) stands above the final letter of line 4 (sigma) which occupies, as mentioned above, eighth, ninth, or tenth place. The omikron of the tribal name therefore occupies either fourth or fifth place, if this name began exactly above the first letters of the name list.

<sup>96</sup> This has in fact already been suggested by A. Brueckner who observed (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 214-215) that the free space at the bottom of the second column of Fragment A indicates that the first two columns were filled with the names of the casualties of the tribe Erechtheis.

<sup>97</sup> See *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 943, 949, 950, and, especially, Pausanias, I, 29, 11: μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν Κορίνθῳ στήλην ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐστάναι τὴν αὐτὴν σημαίνει τὰ ἐλεγεία, τοῖς μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Χίῳ τελευτήσασιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἡπείρου διαφθαρῆναι δηλοῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ. A. von Domaszewski assumed that Pausanias refers here to a later restoration of the original monument (*Sitzungsber. Ak. Heidelberg*, VIII, 1917, Abh. 7, p. 4); see, however, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 296, lines 21-22; F. Hiller von Gärtringen, *Hist. Griech. Epigramme*, p. 23, no. 55.

only one tribe, and of inscribing the name of this tribe at the head of the column or columns is already known from two monuments (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 929 and II<sup>2</sup>, 5221). To these two certain examples may be added two more which are preserved, however, only in transcriptions made in the seventeenth century. J. Spon reported, following his publication of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 950, *reperiuntur ibidem alia duo fragmenta Pandionidis et Leontidis, in quibus nuda leguntur tribulium nomina eodem modo ὀρθογραφούμενα, verbi gratia: ΚΑΙΛΙΧΣΕΝΟΣ, ΗΠΠΟΔΑΜΑΣ, ΗΙΕΡΟΝΤΜΟΣ, ΧΣΕΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ, ΕΡΧΣΙΜΕΝΕΣ, ΗΥΠΙΕΛΕΙΟΣ, ΔΙΟΝ, ΑΝΤΙΦΟΝ, ΧΣΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ*.<sup>98</sup> A. Boeckh observed that all of these names, except those of Dion and Xenokles, occur in the casualty list of the tribe Erechtheis which is now published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 929.<sup>99</sup> He concluded: *videtur igitur Sponius etiam hanc tabulam [I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 929] vidisse, sed quod luto et quisquiliis oblecta esset, initium non conspexisse, indeque unum tantum et alterum nomen deprompsisse, Pandionidis autem et Leontidis nomina ex altero fragmento petiisse una cum Dionis et Xenoclis nominibus*. It so happens, however, that Sir George Wheeler's notebook of Greek and Latin inscriptions, now kept in the British Museum, contains the text of the two fragments mentioned by Spon. A photostat of this manuscript is available at the Institute for Advanced Study, and three of its pages are here reproduced with the kind permission of the authorities of the British Museum.<sup>100</sup>

## Fragment K

## Πανδιονίδος

	Χαρικλῆς		Διοφάνες		Καλλικράτες
	[.]ΑΛΚΟΝ	35	Θοφάνες	65	Μελάνοπος
	ἡαγνόθεος		Στίβον		Καλλίας
5	[N]ανσίστρατος		Τιμονίδες		Δορόθεος
	[Δ]ιομέδε[ς]		Θέστιος		Ποταμοκλῆς
	[Ε]ρχσίθεος		Πύρες		Κλεόστρατο[ς]
	[Δ]ιονυ[---]	40	Εὐφρον	70	ΛΑΣΠΙΚΟΣ
	[Φ]ύρκον		Στόμες		Τελοκλῆς
10	[X]αρμίδες		Ἀρχεβιάδες		Ἐμπεδος
	[Ε]ὐθυκλῆς		Μενίτες		Μάλεκος
	[.]ΖΑΤΟΣ		Εὐκτέμον		Κλεόστρατος
		45	Φαίδον	75	Αἰσχρονίδες
13-33	21 lineae deletae sunt.		Πιστόχσενος		Φείδον
			Στεσίας		[Δι]καίαρχος

<sup>98</sup> *Miscellanea erudita antiquitatis*, 1685, p. 317.

<sup>99</sup> *C.I.G.*, in the heading of no. 165.

<sup>100</sup> The number of the manuscript is P. 18800 Add. Ms. 35334. The first page carries the following note: "These inscriptions were observed and taken by Sr. Geo. Wheeler. This book



Inscriptions ATTICAE.

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ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΩΝΟΣ  
 ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΟΥ  
 ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΙΣ ΤΙΜΟΣ ΤΡΑΤΟΥ  
 ΧΙΟΝΙΣ ΔΗΜΟΤΡΤΟΥ  
 ΕΤΕΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΡΜΑΝΤΙΔΟΥ  
 — ΟΝΟΥΛΙΔΑ  
 ΧΑΙΡΕΑΣ ΜΕΛΗΣΙΠΠΟΥ  
 — ΘΑΘΕΝ  
 ΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΔΕΙΚΙΟΥ  
 ΠΡΑΣΙΕΙΣ  
 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ  
 — ΑΥΧΑΡ — ΡΥΣ  
 — ΔΟΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ  
 — ΡΟΥ —

British Museum.  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 3 2 1

XXXIII  
 ΜΥΡΜΗΞ  
 ΠΙΓΑΓΟΡΟΥ  
 ΛΑΜΨΑΚΗΝΟΣ

XXXIV

*des ordinibus sequentia nomina insculpsunt*

ΠΑΝΤΙΟΝΙΔΟΣ

— ΑΛΙΚΛΕΣ  
 — ΑΛΑΚΟΝ  
 — ΑΛΜΟΘΕΟΣ  
 — ΙΟΝΕΛΕ  
 ΔΙΟΦΑΝΚΣ  
 ΘΟΦΑΝΕΣ  
 ΣΤΙΤΟΝ  
 ΤΙΜΟΠΙΔΕΣ  
 ΚΑΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΣ  
 ΜΕΛΑΝΟΓΟΣ  
 ΤΜΗΑΣ  
 ΛΟΡΟΘΕΟΣ

— ΡΧΣΙΦΕΟΣ  
 — ΙΟΝΙ  
 — ΥΡΚΟΝ  
 — ΑΡΑΙΑΣ  
 — ΥΟΥΚΙΕΣ  
 — ΖΑΤΟΣ  
 21 lineae de.  
 late Junct  
 ΘΕΣΤΙΟΣ  
 ΠΥΡΕΣ  
 ΕΥΦΡΟΙ  
 ΣΤΟΜΕΣ  
 ΑΡΧΕΒΙΑΔΕΣ  
 ΜΕΝΙΤΕΣ  
 ΕΥΤΙΜΟΝ  
 ΕΛΙΔΟΝ  
 ΓΙΣΤΟΧΣΕΝΟΣ  
 ΣΤΕΣΙΑΣ  
 ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ  
 ΑΝΤΙΚΙΕΣ  
 ΑΠΩΛΛΑΔΟΡΟΣ  
 ΚΗΚΙΓΓΟΣ  
 ΝΙΥΣΤΡ\_ΞΦΟΞ  
 ΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ  
 ΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΔΡΟΣ  
 ΛΥΚΟΝ  
 ΑΡΚΕΦΟΝ  
 ΔΙΟΝ  
 ΚΑΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ  
 ΕΥΔΙΔΑΚ\_  
 Ι\_ΟΚΛΙΓΙΟΣ  
 ΜΙΕΛΕΝΙΟΣ  
 ΕΡΑΤΟ  
 ΝΑΤΙΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

ΚΑΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΣ  
 ΜΕΛΑΝΟΓΟΣ  
 ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ  
 ΔΟΡΟΘΕΟΣ  
 ΠΟΤΑΔΟΚΛΕΣ  
 ΚΛΕΟ\_ \_ΤΑΤΟ  
 ΛΑΣΠΙΚΟΣ  
 ΤΕΛΕΚΙΕΣ  
 ΕΥΡΕΔΙ\_Σ  
 ΝΙΛΑΙΚΟΣ  
 ΚΛΕΑΣΤΡ\_ΤΟΣ  
 ΑΙΣΧΡΟΝΤΕΙΣ  
 ΦΕΝΟΝ  
 ΊΑΙΑΡΚΟΣ

Jupia

258

259

Διόδορος  
 Ἀντικλῆς  
 50 Ἀπολλόδορος  
 Κτέσιππος  
 ΝΙΥΣΤΡ-ΦΟΣ  
 Ἀνθιππος  
 Ἀρίστανδρος  
 55 Λύκον  
 Ἀρκέφον  
 Δίον  
 Καλλίστρατος  
 Εὐδίδακ[τος]  
 60 [Θε]όκριτος  
 Μελεσίας  
 Ἐράτο[ν]  
 Νανσίστρατος

None of the names can be identified with certainty. Charikles (line 2) may have been the father of Rhinon from Paiania; see H. T. Wade-Gery, *Cl. Qu.*, XXIV, 1930, p. 35, note 1. Erxitheos (line 7), Phyrkon (line 9), Potamokles (line 68), and Telekles (line 71) do not seem to occur anywhere else in Attika. Thestios (line 36) may have been the father of Moschos from Paiania (*P.A.*, no. 10461). For Pyres (line 39), see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 529. For Stomes (line 41), see *P.A.*, no. 12910. Menites (line 43) may have been the grandfather of Menites, son of Menon, from Kydathenaion. Dion (line 57) may have been mentioned by Spon (see above). For Telokles (line 71) see below, p. 52, note 114.

## Fragment L

Λ ε ο ν τ ί δ ο ς

Χσενοκλῆς	Ναύτες	Λν[---]
Χσέναρχος	Διοκλῆς	Σαν[---]
Θεόπομπος	30 Κτεσικλῆς	55 Πολυ[---]
5 Ναυσιχάρες	[---]	Διογέν[ες]

once belonged to the Library of Mr. Granville Wheeler of Methley in Yorkshire (near Leeds), who is grandson to the late Sr. George Wheeler and first Cousin to Mr. Granville Sharp." See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. Sharp, pp. 1339-1342, and s. v. Wheeler, pp. 1356-1357. The pages of Wheeler's manuscript illustrated here are numbered 73-75, and the inscriptions carry the number 259. The transcription given here disregards (for the sake of clarity) the various obvious misspellings of the manuscript except in those cases in which the original reading of the stone could not be recovered with certainty.



	Φανόστρατος	Εὐφραῖος	Τιμογεί[τον]
	-ΙΑΘΙΣ	ΠΤΠ[---]	Αὐτομάθες
	[Π]όλον	Ἱερο[---]	Μισγ[ό]λας
	Φειδέστρατος	35 Ἀντικλ[---]	60 Ἰανβος
10	[Λ]εόστρατος	Γλαν[---]	ἡαγνόθεος
	Διδνμίας	Κοφ[.]ος	Κλέον
	Φιλῖνος	Διο[.]εν[---]	Φιλοκλῆς
	[Κ]ρεοντίδες	Μένον	Νόθος
	[Σ]όστρατος	40 Σατυρ[---]	65 Ν[ε]οφάνες
15	[.]εκ[---]	Φιλ[---]	Ἀ[ρ]χσικλῆς
	Θεόδωρος	Θ[ε]μισ[τ]ο[κ]λ[ῆς]	Ἀθηνάδες
	Θοφανίδες	Αἰνεσίας	Ναυσικλῆς
	Ἀντιχάρης	Νικόστρατος	Μάκ[ρ]ον
	Λεόντιος	45 Ἀντιφῶν	70 Δίογχις
20	Ἄνδρον	Ε[....]τες	Ἀταρβίον
	[Θ]εμισταγόρας	Εὐαί[ν]ετος	Σόστρατος
	Εὐδεμος	Δεινόστρατος	Ἀριστίον
	Φίλιππος	Πυθόκριτος	Χάρης
	Θότιμος	50 ΑΙΔ-ΘΑΝ	75 Λαμπροκλῆς
25	Πεισίλοχος	Αὐτομέ[.]ες	Ἀσοπόδορος
	Μελάνθιος	Ἀσ[αν]δρ[ος]	Νικόδεμος
	[:]λ[---]		Κλεαίνετος

None of the names can be identified with certainty. Xenokles (line 2) may have been mentioned by Spon (see above). Xenarchos (line 3) may have been an ancestor of Xenarchos from Kropidai who was councillor of Leontis *ca.* 170 B.C.; see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 918, col. IV, line 25 (for the date, see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 312). Kreontides (line 13), Thouphanides (line 17), Themistagoras (line 21), Peisilochos (line 25), Ianbos (line 60), Nothos (line 64), Arxikles (line 66), and Makron (line 69) do not seem to be known as names of Athenian citizens. Antichares (line 18) may have been the paternal grandfather of Antichares, son of Philion, from Phrearrhoi, who was councillor of Leontis before the middle of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742, line 45).

The two fragments known from Wheeler's notebook have been added here as Fragments K and L, although it is not certain that they once belonged to the same funeral monument as Fragments A-J. In fact, the only supporting evidence is the arrangement of the casualties of one tribe in three columns with the tribal name in larger letters written across the top, and the spelling which indicates that the inscriptions copied by Wheeler belong to the last quarter of the fifth century. Wheeler's transcription does not contain, however, any remains of the first line which was engraved in large letters of which one is preserved on Fragment J. It is conceivable,

Inscriptiones ἈΤΤΙΚΑΕ		
Λ Ε Ο Ν Τ Ι Δ Ο Σ		
ΧΞΕΝΟΚΛΕΣ	ΝΑΥΓΕΣ	ΛΥ
ΧΣ <sup>Ε</sup> ΝΑΡΧΟΣ	ΔΙΟΚΛΕΣ	ΣΑΝ
ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ	ΚΤΕ-ΙΚΛΕΣ	ΠΟΙΥ-
ΝΑΥΣΙΧΑΡΕΝ	---	ΔΙΟΛΕΝ
ΦΑΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΕΥΦΡΑΙΟΣ	ΤΙΜΟΛΕΙ-
-ΙΛΘΙΞ	ΠΥΗ-	ΑΥΤΟΝΕΟ-ΕΣ
ΨΟΛΟΝ	ΤΕΡΚ-	ΜΙΣΡ-ΛΕΣ
-ΤΕΙΔΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΑΝΤΙΚΛ-	ΙΑΝΒΟΣ
-ΕΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΑΛΑΥ-	ΗΔΑΝΟΘΕΟΣ
-ΙΑΥΝΙΑΣ	ΚΟΨ-ΟΣ	ΚΛΕΩΝ
ΡΙΑΙΝΟΣ	ΔΙΟ-ΕΝ-	ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΣ
ΨΡΕΟΝΤΙΔΕΣ	ΜΕΝΟΝ	ΝΟΘΟΣ
-ΟΣΤΡΑΤΕΣ	ΣΑΙΛΡ-	Ν-ΟΦΑΝΕΣ
-ΕΚ-	ΦΙΛ-	Α-ΧΣΙΚΛΑΣ
ΘΕΟΔΟΡΦΟΣ	ΟΜΙΟΣ'Ι	ΑΘΕΝΑΔΕΑ
ΟΟΦΙΝΙΔΕΣ	ΑΤΝΘΣΙΑΣ	ΝΑΥΣ-ΚΛΕΣ
ΑΝΤΙΧ-ΡΕΣ	ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΜΑΚΟΝ
ΛΕΟΠΙ'ΟΣ	ΑΝΤΙΦΟΝ	ΔΙΟΛΧΕΣ
-ΙΝΔΡΟΝ	Ε--ΤΕΣ	ΑΤΑΡΕΙΟΝ
-ΕΜΙΣΟΛΑΔΟΡΑΣ	ΕΥΛΓ-ΙΤΟΣ	ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
ΕΥΔ <sup>Ε</sup> ΡΜΟΣ	ΔΙΕΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΑΡΙΣΤΙΟΝ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	ΠΥΘΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ	ΧΑΡΕΣ
ΟΟΤΙΜΟΣ	ΑΙΔ-ΘΑΝ	ΛΑΓΠΟΚΛΕΣ
ΣΕΙΣΙΑΟΧΟΣ	ΑΥΤΟΝΕ-ΕΣ	ΑΧΟΠΟΔΟΡΟΣ
ΜΕΛΟΙΘΙΟΣ	ΑΣΔΡ-'	ΝΙΚΟΔΕΜΟΣ
-Ι-	ΑΥΤΟΜΛΟ	ΚΛΕΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ
	ΜΙΣΡ-ΛΕΣ	
	ΙΑ'ΒΟΣ	
	- ΗΔΑΝΟΘΕ-Σ	
	ΚΛΕΩ	

No. 8. New Fragment (L) of *Hesperia*, VII, No. 10

(from Copy Made by Sir George Wheler)

however, that the upper edges of the fragments were chipped off, and that Wheler did not record the traces of letters which might have been still visible.<sup>101</sup>

It is impossible to estimate accurately the number of names which were originally engraved in each column. The thickness of the stelae indicates that the columns were

<sup>101</sup> Similarly, the first line of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 945 was not recorded in the transcription illustrated by H. J. Rose, *Inscr. Graec. vet.*, opposite p. 114; see above, p. 23.



of considerable height. It is known that in one instance (Fragment A) the list of names reached the very bottom of the stele, but other columns may have been much shorter. Since ten lines occupy a vertical space of *ca.* 0.12 m., and since the column of names may well have had a height of *ca.* 1.50 m., each column could have contained approximately 130 names. If the casualties of one tribe were engraved in two or three columns, they may have amounted to an average of 250 names, which would give a total of approximately 2,500 casualties from all ten tribes.

It has been pointed out above that the date of the funeral list can be determined by comparing it with the records of the poletai which are dated *ca.* 413 B.C. It is tempting to connect the funeral list with the Great Sicilian Expedition which was the only major Athenian disaster in that period. The number of Athenian hoplites sent with the expeditionary force amounted to 2,700,<sup>102</sup> and since the great majority of them were killed after the arrival of Demosthenes in Sicily,<sup>103</sup> this number of names may well have found space on the stelae under discussion. The fact that a shorter list of names was engraved on the same monument (Fragment H) may be used as supporting evidence, since Pausanias reports that on one and the same stele were also engraved the names of the casualties from other battlefronts.<sup>104</sup>

### THREE DEDICATIONS TO ZEUS MEILICHIOS

Zeus Meilichios had at least two sanctuaries in Attika, both located outside of the city of Athens. One was on the Kephisos, on the road to Eleusis,<sup>105</sup> the other was situated between the harbours of Zea and Mounichia.<sup>106</sup> Only two dedications to Zeus Meilichios were found in the city itself; they were discovered on the north slope of the Nymphs' Hill, and from this it has been concluded that there was a sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios in or near this locality.<sup>107</sup> To these two documents three more dedications may be added which were found in the Agora and which were set up probably in the same sanctuary as the offerings found on the adjacent Nymphs' Hill.

<sup>102</sup> Thucydides, VI, 43, and VII, 20; compare J. Mälzer, *Verluste und Verlustlisten*, pp. 33-37; J. Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2, pp. 290-302. Only the hoplites ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου are counted here, because it may be assumed that only they were mentioned in the casualty lists; compare J. Beloch, *Klio*, V, 1905, p. 347.

<sup>103</sup> The casualties of the earlier part of the campaign were inscribed on a separate stele; see Pausanias, I, 29, 13; J. Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 297.

<sup>104</sup> See note 97. For the omission of Nikias' name from the casualty list, see H. D. Westlake, *Cl. Qu.*, XXXV, 1941, p. 64, note 5.

<sup>105</sup> See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 1091-1092; Pfister, *R.E.*, s. v. Meilichioi Theoi, col. 341, lines 1-16.

<sup>106</sup> See Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 1104-1114; Pfister, *op. cit.*, col. 341, lines 36-62; compare also S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, pp. 3, nos. 17-19, and 5, no. 30.

<sup>107</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4677 and 4678. See Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 1114; Pfister, *op. cit.*, col. 341, lines 28-32; compare also L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 155-158; Fehrle in Roscher, *Lex. der Mythologie*, s. v. Zeus, cols. 639-640.

9. Upper part of inscribed stele of Hymettian marble, found on December 5, 1934, in Section Σ. The stele is broken only at the bottom.

Height, 0.19 m.

Width, 0.21 m.

Thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 2201.

ca. 330 B.C.

Ὀλυμπος  
Δὲ Μιλιχίωι.



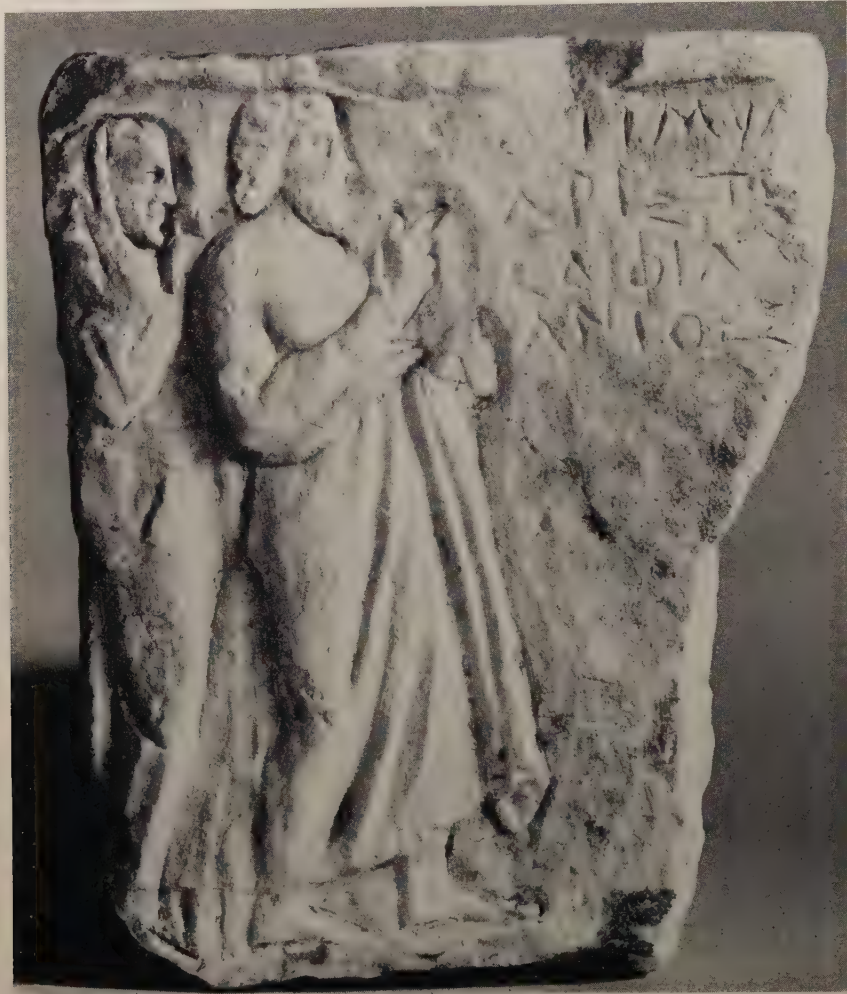
No. 9

The relief originally represented a man (Olympos) standing in front of a bearded snake which is the symbol of the deity.<sup>108</sup> P. Foucart pointed out that in the preserved

<sup>108</sup> See Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 1107-1114, figs. 944-946.



dedicatory inscriptions from the sanctuary near Mounichia the name of the dedicator is in no case accompanied by that of his deme.<sup>109</sup> This observation applies also to the two inscriptions from the Nymphs' Hill (see note 107) and to the one here under discussion. Olympos, which is a rare name among the Athenians, occurs as the name



No. 10

of a freedman in an inscription dated *ca.* 330 B.C. which contains the names of freedmen who dedicated silver vases.<sup>110</sup> Since the letter forms of Olympos' dedication seem to belong to the second half of the fourth century, it may be assumed that the dedicator was Olympos, living in Skambonidai, who also dedicated a silver vase to Athena.

<sup>109</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4617-4619; compare P. Foucart in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, s.v. Meilichios, pp. 1700-1701.

<sup>110</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1567, line 9; compare H. Pope, *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, pp. 64-66 and 190.

**10.** Fragment of a relief stele with inscription, found on March 27, 1936, in Section N. Broken at the right side and at the bottom (?).

Height, 0.182 m.

Width, 0.155 m.

Thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 3868.

Third century B.C.

Διὶ Μ<ι>λ[ιχίωι]  
 Ἀριστο[---]  
 καὶ Φιλακ[ὼ (?)]  
 ἀν<έθ>εσ[αν].

Line 1: ΜΤΛ; line 4: ΑΝΙΟΕΣ.

The bearded man and the veiled woman are the dedicators. The deity, either a snake or a bearded man on a throne, was represented on the lost right portion of the relief.<sup>111</sup> The inscription was engraved in the upper part of the centre of the relief, and below it, in front of the deity, may have been an altar. The letter forms of the carelessly written inscription indicate a date in the third century B.C.

**11.** Inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 18, 1935, in Section N. Only part of the top and of the right lateral side is preserved.

Height, 0.138 m.

Width, 0.127 m.

Thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m. (line 1)  
 and 0.01 m. (line 2).

Inv. No. I 2778.

Fourth century B.C.

[Διὶ Μιλι]χίωι  
 [-ca. 6-]ιος



No. 11

(Photograph from Squeeze)

The restoration is naturally uncertain, but the first line certainly contained the name of the deity, the second that of the dedicator. In this form, the inscription may

<sup>111</sup> See Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 1106, figs. 942 and 943.



be compared with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4677. The shape of the monument to which the small fragment belongs was probably a stone pillar like that on which *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4678 is inscribed. The original length of the base may have been *ca.* 0.30 m. if the first line was placed symmetrically. The restoration of the length of the dedicator's name (line 2) is based on the assumption that this line was centred below the first line, with its first letter inscribed below the second or third letter of the first line.

### A CHOREGIC MONUMENT OF 337/6 B.C.

12. The inscribed fragment illustrated in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 113, no. 178 is part of a choregic monument similar in appearance to those published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3027-3062.<sup>112</sup> Top and bottom surfaces are preserved, and the height of the fragment (0.215 m.) compares favorably with that of the other monuments. The slab apparently served as top step of a tripod monument.<sup>113</sup> A hole for one of the legs of the tripod may still be preserved on top of the fragment, since the records of the excavation note the existence of a roughly picked rectangular sinking, 0.10 m. long, 0.06 m. wide, and 0.01 m. deep.

The identification of the fragment is assured by the restoration of the letters of the first and last lines. The first line may be completed to: [tribe's name ending in -ί]ς πα[ίδων ἐνίκα]. The last line contained the archon's name and can be restored to: [archon's name ending in -]χος ἦ[ρξευ].<sup>114</sup> The letter forms of the inscription indicate a date in the third quarter of the fourth century, and the names of only three

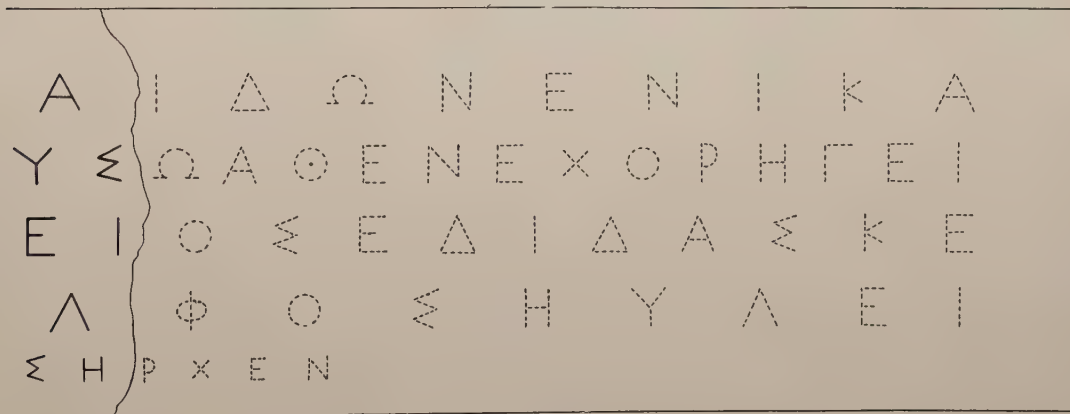
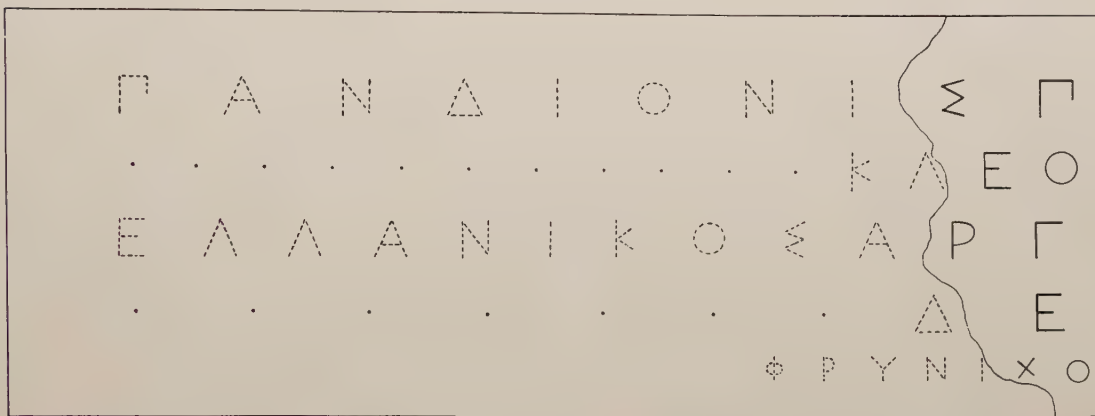
<sup>112</sup> Compare also *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 769, 770 a, 771; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 48-50, no. 15; G. Welter, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 33-68; Immerwahr, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 343, note 18.

<sup>113</sup> Compare E. Reisch, *R.E.*, s.v. Dreifuss, cols. 1694-1695; H. B. Walters, *J.H.S.*, XLI, 1921, p. 147, no. 18.

<sup>114</sup> Only two earlier choregic monuments have the signatures of artists in their last lines: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3018 and 3038. For *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3018 a new reading may be suggested. The fourth and fifth lines of this inscription may be read and restored as follows: Ἀριστήδης [ἐπὶ]ῆσεν. The artist was probably the painter and sculptor Aristеides from Thebes; compare C. Robert, *R.E.*, s.v. Aristеides no. 29; Sauer in Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, II, p. 102; A. D. Keramopoulos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1920, pp. 17-18; G. Lippold, *R.E.*, s.v. Nikomachos, col. 464, 52-53; C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, II, pp. 648, note 3, and 662, note 2. The dedication *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3018 was made by Kallias, son of Telokles, and it probably belongs to the last quarter of the fifth century; compare J. Kirchner, *Hermes*, XXXI, 1896, p. 255; H. Swoboda, *R.E.*, s.v. Kallias no. 9. For similar letter forms, see the decree of the year 415/4 B.C., published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 381, no. 5. The name of Kallias' father, Telokles, is rare, and one of the demes with which it is connected (Angele) belongs to the tribe Pandionis which happens to be the tribe of Kallias, son of Telokles (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3018); compare J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, nos. 13580-13585; M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 442-444, no. 1, line 12. It may therefore be suggested that Kallias, son of Telokles, belonged to the deme Angele, and that he was identical with the Athenian archon of the year 406/5 B.C., Kallias from Angele; cf. Swoboda, *R.E.*, s.v. Kallias no. 13; *supra*, No. 8, Frag. K, line 71.

archons of this period end in [---]χος: Kallimachos (349/8 B.C.), Nikomachos (341/40 B.C.), and Phrynichos (337/6 B.C.).

The line containing the archon's name is engraved in smaller letters than the rest of the inscription, and this line obviously did not extend over the whole width of the stone.<sup>115</sup> On the other hand, lines 1-4 differ from each other in the spacing of the letters, but each of the lines seems to be evenly spaced within itself. It may be assumed, therefore, that lines 1-4 were of equal length but consisted each of a different number of letters. The restoration suggested below is based on the assumption that the centre of the first line falls in the space between the second and third preserved letters, and that the centres of the following lines 2-4 are located below this space. The centre of the fifth line would fall accordingly near the letter omikron of the archon's name. These considerations allow the following restoration:



No. 12. *Hesperia*, III, No. 178

<sup>115</sup> Compare *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3054.



337/6 B.C.

[Πανδιονι]ς πα[ίδων ἐνίκα]  
 [.....<sup>ca. 11</sup>... κλ]έους [᾽Ωαθεν ἐχορήγει]  
 [Ἑλλάνικος ᾽Α]ργεῖ[ος ἐδίδασκε]  
 [.....<sup>ca. 7</sup>... Δ]ελ[φὸς ἠΰλει]  
 5 [Φρύνι]χος ᾗ[ρχεν].

No other flute-player from Delphi is known, and it is possible that the letters [-]ελ[-] belong to the end of the musician's name rather than to his ethnic that may have been omitted.<sup>116</sup>

It is tempting to restore the name of the poet to: [Ἑλλάνικος ᾽Α]ργεῖ[ος ἐδίδασκε], because Hellanikos is the only other known Argive lyric poet of this period. The evidence for Hellanikos is contained in the choregic inscription published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3078. The date of this inscription as given in the *Corpus* is the beginning of the third century B.C., and if this date is correct Hellanikos could hardly have been active as early as 337/6 B.C. which is the latest possible date for the inscription in which his name may be restored. But the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3078, as well as that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3074, 3075, and 3076, is based on the assumption that the agonothesia was introduced in the year 309/8 B.C., and that consequently an inscription in which the agonotheses is either mentioned or restored with probability must be dated after that year. As a matter of fact, the year in which the agonothesia was established is not known. It must fall after 320/19 B.C. (because of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3055 and 3056) and before 307/6 B.C. (because of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3073 and 3077).<sup>117</sup> U. Koehler suggested that the archonship of Demetrios (309/8 B.C.) was the occasion for the introduction of the agonothesia,<sup>118</sup> and E. Capps defended this date by discarding the evidence provided by Plutarch, *Phokion*, 31.<sup>119</sup> He suggested that Nikanor may have undertaken the office of agonotheses at some later date after 318 B.C., but it is known that Nikanor was executed in the year 318/7 B.C.<sup>120</sup> Capps referred also to a decree of the deme Aixone honoring the choregoi of the year 317/6 B.C. for their services (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1200), and he seemed to assume that this decree antedates the introduction of the agonothesia. But the choregoi mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1198 and 1200 were deme officials of Aixone and had accordingly nothing to do with the celebration of the City Dionysia, as is now shown by another inscription (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3091).<sup>121</sup> It is clear, therefore, that the

<sup>116</sup> Compare *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3037 and 3042. A possible restoration of the flutist's name would be: [᾽Αριστοτ]έλ[ης ἠΰλει].

<sup>117</sup> See W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 55-56; G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 930, note 2.

<sup>118</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, III, 1878, p. 240.

<sup>119</sup> *A.J.A.*, IV, 1900, p. 85, note 1; cf. *supra*, p. 2, note 1.

<sup>120</sup> See H. Berve, *R.E.*, s. v. Nikanor, col. 268, 48-52.

<sup>121</sup> For the discussion of the whole problem, see E. Reisch, *R.E.*, s. v. Agonotheses, cols. 874-875.

introduction of the agonothesia cannot be dated more accurately than between the years 319 and 307 B.C., and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3078 may well belong in one of these years rather than in the beginning of the third century. This earlier date for the victory of the Argive poet Hellanikos would justify the restoration of his name in the inscription of the choregic monument from the Agora. An interval of twenty or even thirty years between the victories of a lyric or dramatic poet is quite possible.

### A REDISCOVERED SIGNATURE OF PRAXITELES

**13.** The inscription published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3886 was found in 1878 by E. Pottier built into a wall of the house at 9 Bouleuterion Street.<sup>122</sup> At the time of discovery the top of the base was broken and its right side was hidden by other stones. The inscription was republished by E. Löwy who correctly recorded the exact place of discovery but erroneously assumed that this was near the Lysikrates monument.<sup>123</sup> This mistake was probably due to the title of Pottier's article: "Fouilles au monument de Lysistrate." More recently J. Kirchner simply declared (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3886) that the inscription was found prope monumentum Lysicratis. But Bouleuterion Street runs north from the church of Hypapanti,<sup>124</sup> and this is exactly the place where the stone was rediscovered on April 12, 1937, in Section ΘΘ.<sup>125</sup> It is a base of Hymettian marble, and at present the inscribed face only is exposed. The stone still remains in the Valerian wall, where it must have been seen by Pottier.<sup>126</sup>

Height, 0.21 m.

Width, 0.66 m.

Height of letters: lines 1-3, *ca.* 0.025 m.; line 4, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4712.

<sup>122</sup> *B.C.H.*, II, 1878, p. 418, no. 7.

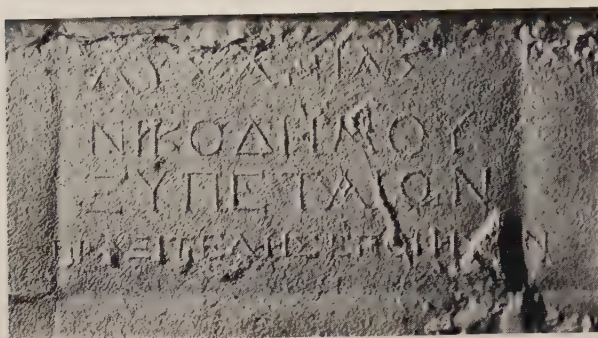
<sup>123</sup> *Inscripfen Griech. Bildhauer*, p. 173, no. 236.

<sup>124</sup> See Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, Plan I, E5; on Judeich's map the letter D of the word Kydathenaion marks the block in which the house no. 9 is situated.

<sup>125</sup> For the location of this Section, see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 335.

<sup>126</sup> The inscribed face can be seen on the photograph published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 327; the stone in question is the second of the two slabs to the right of the big inscribed stele which is still standing in situ. Professor Shear has kindly called my attention to the fact that this stele too has been known for many years. It was first recorded in 1852 by Pittakys (see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 78, no. 34; for a more complete account of the early excavations in this area, see S. Dow, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 426-427); Pittakys did not notice the other inscription because it was then facing the inside of a modern cesspool which used the Valerian wall for its east face.





No. 13. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3886  
(Photograph from Squeeze)

First century B.C.

Λυσανίας  
Νικοδήμου  
Ξυπεταιών.

Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησεν.

Lysanias is probably a descendant of Nikodemos from Xypete who is known from the fourth century B.C.<sup>127</sup>

An artist with the name Praxiteles from the first century B.C. is known from several other signatures;

he was probably a descendant of the famous Praxiteles.<sup>128</sup>

## TWO PRYTANY CATALOGUES OF HIPPOTHONTIS

14. Opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble, found on December 21, 1935, in Section Z. The stone was built into the wall of a modern well, and the curved fracture at the right lower corner, as well as the corrosion of the surface near this fracture, is due to this second use of the stele. The stone is broken at the lower right side and at the bottom.

Height, 0.67 m.

Width, 0.47 m.

Thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 3231.

*ca.* 50-40 B.C.

Οἱ πρυτάνεις  
τὸν ταμίαν τῆς φυ  
λῆς

in an olive wreath

Διοφά  
5 νην Ἀπολ  
λωνίου  
Ἀζηνιέ  
α.

<sup>127</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3055 and 6930.

<sup>128</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4117, 4181, 4240; *I.G.*, IX, 2, no. 1320. See E. Groag, *P.I.R.*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 5, no. 33;

- Ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος  
 10 καὶ οἱ ἀείσιτοι οἱ ἐπὶ Διοκλέους Ἀζηγιέως [ἄρ]  
 χοντος ἀποφαίνουσι τῇ βουλῇ τὸν ταμία[ν]  
 ὃν αὐτοὶ εἶλοντο ἐξ ἑαυτῶν Διοφάνην Ἀπο[λλω]  
 νίου Ἀζηγιέα τὰς τε θυσίας τεθυκέναι ἐκ [τῶν ἰδί]  
 ων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων ἐπιμεμελ[ῆσθαι φιλα]  
 15 γάθως καὶ διὰ ταῦτα παρακαλοῦσι τὴν βο[υλὴν ἐπιχω]  
 ρῆσαι αὐτοῖς στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλ[λοῦ στεφά]  
 νωι, Τύχῃ Ἀγαθῇ, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἐπ[αινέσαι τὸν τα]  
 μίαν τῶν πρυτάνεων τῆς Ἱπποθω[ντίδος Διοφάνην]  
 Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀζηγιέα καὶ στεφανῶ[σαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ]  
 20 στεφάνωι  $\Phi$ (ι) πάτριόν ἐστι στεφ[ανοῦν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς]  
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τ[ὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ]  
 ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανήαν εἰς σ[τήλην λιθίνην καὶ ἀνα]  
 θεῖναι ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίω.  
 Ἀζηγιεῖς [---]  
 25 Διοφάνης Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀρισ[τ---]  
 Λυσίμαχος Πολυκρίτου Ἀρι[---]  
 Δίκαιος Δε[---]  
 Ζήνων Θεοφράστου 45 Τιμ[---]  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀρι[---]  
 30 Ἐράτων Ἰσιδώρου Φ[---]  
 Λεύκιος Ἐράτων Ν[---]  
 Ἀριστόνικος Πρωτογένους Δι[---]  
 Φιλόστρατος Πολυκρίτου 50 Γ[---]  
 Διοσκουρίδης Δημέου Δ[---]  
 35 Διονύσιος Νε(ώτερος) Ὑ[---]  
 Διονυσόδωρος Διογένους Γ[---]  
 Θεόφιλος Ἡλιοδώρου Ε[---]  
 Αἰσχίνης Λευκίου  
 Νυμφοκλῆ[ς]  
 40 Λεύκιος [---]

The approximate date of the document can be determined from the letter forms, from some prosopographical evidence, and from the name of the archon, Diokles from Azenia. The letter forms of the inscription and the abbreviation of the father's name in lines 27, 29, and 39 indicate a date near or after the middle of the first century B.C.

A. Stein, *P.I.R.*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 28, no. 179; M. Bieber in Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon der Künstler*, s. v. Praxiteles V, p. 363; C. H. Morgan, *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1937, p. 68, note 1; E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia*, col. 35, note 134.

The known activity of Polykritos (lines 26 and 33) points to the same date. There are four archons with the name of Diokles who all belong to the period in question.<sup>129</sup> Two of them may be left out of consideration because they were from Kephisia and



No. 14. Inscription on the Obverse Face

from Melite respectively. If Diokles from Kephisia was archon in 57/6 B.C.<sup>130</sup> and Diokles from Melite held the same office in 39/8 B.C.,<sup>131</sup> Diokles from Azenia may

<sup>129</sup> See S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 170-171, commentary on no. 101.

<sup>130</sup> See *P.A.*, no. 4032; S. Dow, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 587, note on line 24.

<sup>131</sup> See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 284-285.



have been one of the two archons with the name Diokles who are mentioned in an inscription from Delos.<sup>132</sup> This assumption would place the term of office of the archon Diokles from Azenia somewhere in the decade following the middle of the first century B.C.

The document as a whole is an honorary decree for the treasurer Diophanes, and the prytany catalogue is a mere addition to this decree.<sup>133</sup> The name of the treasurer Diophanes is known from four inscriptions found in the sanctuary of Asklepios, which mention the priest of Asklepios, Diophanes, son of Apollonios, from Azenia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4482-4485). These inscriptions have been dated, probably on the basis of their letter forms, in the first century after Christ, but it seems quite possible that the priest Diophanes was identical with the treasurer of the same name. The inscriptions with the name of the priest should therefore be dated near the middle of the first century B.C. The councillor Apollonios, son of Apollonios, from Azenia, mentioned in line 29, was probably a brother of Diophanes. They are not listed close together because the office held by Diophanes required that his name be listed first; compare W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, p. 429, note 63. A third son of Apollonios may be mentioned in the tomb inscription published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5305.

The name of the fathers of the two councillors Lysimachos and Philostratos (lines 26 and 33) is Polykritos, and, since this is a rather uncommon name, it may be assumed that the two councillors were brothers. They too were not listed together, possibly because Lysimachos held the office of secretary, and his name had therefore to be mentioned in second place after that of the treasurer. The father of the two councillors, Polykritos, is known from several inscriptions which mention his son Polycharmos and other members of the family.<sup>134</sup> If the assumption is correct that both Lysimachos and Philostratos were the sons of this Polykritos and the brothers of Polycharmos, their activity would fall near the middle of the first century B.C.

Attention may be called to the representation of the deme Azenia among the councillors of Hippothontis. No less than sixteen delegates to the Council were sent from this deme, and there may have been several more. The name list was engraved in two columns so that there must have been the names of approximately twenty-five councillors in each of the columns. W. K. Pritchett already has collected some evidence concerning the disparity of the deme representation of the councillors of the tribe Hippothontis,<sup>135</sup> and the inscription under discussion shows that the population of

<sup>132</sup> *Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 2632; Diokles' son may be mentioned in a tomb inscription (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5299) which is dated in the first century after Christ.

<sup>133</sup> See S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 14-15 and 25-26. It may be noted, however, that in this decree no request is made by the prytaneis to honor their treasurer with a statue "in gilded armor."

<sup>134</sup> See *Inscr. de Délos*, no. 1876 and the inscriptions mentioned there; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3518, and the inscriptions mentioned there; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041, line 9; compare W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 292, notes 6 and 7.

<sup>135</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 126; see also S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 28, note 2.

Azenia must have increased considerably during the second and first centuries B.C.<sup>136</sup> The second column probably began with a demotic (line 41) which has followed by at least thirteen names. It is likely that these names belonged to the councillors from the deme Peiraieus which was by far the largest deme of the tribe and which provided fifteen councillors a little more than a hundred years earlier.<sup>137</sup>

The fact that both the treasurer and the secretary were from the deme Azenia and that the archon of this year, Diokles, belonged to the same deme may have been a mere coincidence.

15. The stele was reused about two hundred years later. At that time the councillors of the same tribe Hippothontis inscribed their names on the back of the stele.

A.D. 152/3 or 153/4

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρ]χοντος Νουμμίου Μήνι

[δος· μῆ]νὸς Σκειροφοριῶνος·

[ΙΓ πρυτ]α[νείας· οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς

5 [Ἰπποθωντί]δος φυλῆς τιμήσαν

[τες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ το]ὺς αἰσίτους ἀνέγραψαν.

[ἐπώνυμος ---]μένης Ἀζηνιεύς.

(Column I lost)

Col. II

Ἀζηνιεύς

Αἴλιος Μητροδόωρος

10 Διονύσιος )

Δημήτριος Νυμφοδότου

Νυμφόδοτος )

Συμφέρων )

Εἰρηναῖος Ἀνθεστηρίου

15 Νικάνωρ )

Ἐρέννιος Ἐπάγαθος

Ἐρέννιος Λεοντεύς

Κλαύδιος Μάρων

[Μ]ητρόβιος Ἀμφίονος

20 [Νι]κηφόρος )

[Δη]μήτριος Τρύφωνος

[Ἀπολ]λώνιος )

[ἐ]κ Κοίλη[ς]

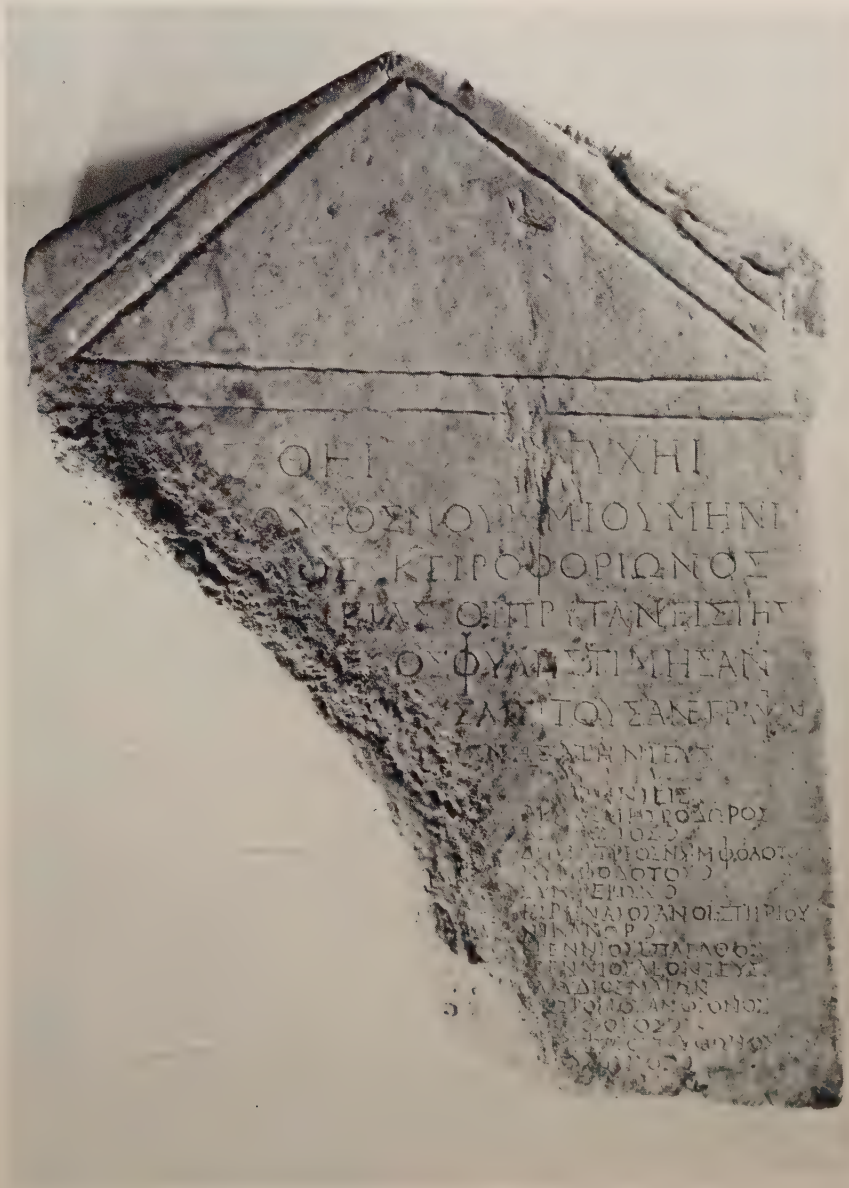
The document is dated by the name of the archon Nummius Menis who is known from several other documents.<sup>138</sup> He is mentioned as eponymous archon in the heading of another prytany catalogue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1771, lines 2-4), and there his full name Lucius Nummius Menis from Phaleron is preserved. This document (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1771)

<sup>136</sup> See Milchhöfer, *R.E.*, s.v. Azenia; for the location of this deme, see W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, p. 427, note 56. A still unpublished catalogue of councillors (?) of Hippothontis (I 1302) contains under the heading Ἀζηνιεύς twenty-one or more names; two of these recur in the catalogue under discussion (lines 28 and 36).

<sup>137</sup> See *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 122-126, no. 25.

<sup>138</sup> J. H. Oliver has already referred to this new occurrence of his name; see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 78.

contained the dedication made by the councillors of the tribe Aigeis who served as the twelfth prytany in the year of Nummius. Since the councillors of Hippothontis served in the last month of the same year (Skirophorion; see line 3), they must have



No. 15. Inscription on the Reverse Face of No. 14

held the thirteenth prytany, and the beginning of line 4 has been restored accordingly.

The date of Nummius' archonship has been determined on the basis of two inscriptions from the year A.D. 156/7 in which Nummius is mentioned as herald of



the council of the Areopagus.<sup>139</sup> His archonship must fall before this year.<sup>140</sup> Another indication for the chronology of Nummius' career seems to be provided by the ephebic list published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2029 in which the name of Nummius Menis occurs. The date suggested for this inscription, however, is not based on independent evidence. Finally, the name of Nummius Menis has been restored by W. Dittenberger in a prytany catalogue which is dated *ca.* A.D. 120.<sup>141</sup> If this restoration is accepted, Nummius would have been born *ca.* A.D. 90, he was ephebe *ca.* A.D. 110, councillor *ca.* A.D. 120, and he must have been well advanced in years when he still held office as member of the Areopagus, in A.D. 156/7. His archonship would fall after A.D. 130 and before A.D. 156.

A more accurate date for the archonship of Nummius may be deduced from a comparison of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1771 (which is dated in his archonship) and 1765 (dated in A.D. 138/9). These two inscriptions should be placed not too far apart in date. Both are prytany catalogues of the tribe Aigeis, and the name of the eponymos, Hermeias, son of Glaukos, which is preserved on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1765, line 9, may be restored in line 8 of II<sup>2</sup>, 1771: [ἐπώνυμος Ἑρμε]ίας Γλα[ύκων]. Another link between *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1771 and 1765 may be provided by the possible combination of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1766 and 1771. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1766 preserves part of the name list while *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1771 contains the heading of the catalogue.<sup>142</sup> The link between *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1766 and 1765 consists in the occurrence in both inscriptions of the name of Pannychos, son of Herakleides, as that of the councillor from Erikeia.<sup>143</sup> The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1771 (which may be combined with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1766), and thus the archonship of Nummius, should therefore be placed not too far from the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1765 (A.D. 138/9).

The catalogue of the councillors from Azenia provides some additional evidence for the date of the inscription under discussion. Oliver has already mentioned that the names of Ailios Metrodoros (line 9), Dionysios, son of Dionysios (line 10), Demetrios, son of Nymphodotos (line 11), Eirenaios, son of Anthesterios (line 14), and Herennios Epagathos (line 16) reappear in a catalogue which he dated in the middle of the second century after Christ.<sup>144</sup> He also pointed out that Demetrios, son of Nymphodotos, was an ephebe in A.D. 125/6, and that Herennios Epagathos was an ephebe in A.D. 139/40. To this may now be added that also Nymphodotos, son of Nymphodotos (line 12, a brother of Demetrios), and Sympheron, son of Sympheron

<sup>139</sup> *I.G.R.*, IV, nos. 574 and 575.

<sup>140</sup> See P. Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 138-139, no. 102; compare, however, J. Kirchner, *R.E.*, s. v. Nummius, col. 1412, no. 14.

<sup>141</sup> See S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 195, no. 121, line 66; the dedicatory inscriptions *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4069 and 4070 do not help in this connection.

<sup>142</sup> Shape and size of the letters agree, as far as one can judge from a study of the squeezes. It must be noted, however, that the thickness of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1771 is said to be 0.18 m., that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1766, only 0.08 m.

<sup>143</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1765, line 33, and 1766, line 4.

<sup>144</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 78.

(line 13), were ephebes in A.D. 125/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2037, lines 9 and 11), and that Herennios Leonteus (line 17) was an ephebe in A.D. 142/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2049, line 25; see also 3740, line 21). Moreover, Dionysios, son of Dionysios (line 10), was kosmetes in A.D. 143/4 or 144/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2050, line 2), and his tombstone has been recovered in the Agora (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5308). Finally, the councillor Apollonios, son of Apollonios (line 22), may be the hyposphronistes of the year A.D. 142/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2049, line 153).

The most important of these identifications is that of Herennios Leonteus (line 17) with the ephebe of the same name who was nineteen or twenty years old in A.D. 142/3. If this identification is correct, if the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2049 is assured, and if the age requirement for councillors was, even at that late period, thirty years, Leonteus cannot have been councillor before A.D. 152/3.<sup>145</sup> This assumption would provide an accurate date for the archonship of Nummius, who must then have held this office in one of the years between A.D. 152/3 and 155/6. Since the archons of the years A.D. 154/5 and 155/6 are already known,<sup>146</sup> Nummius may have been archon either in A.D. 152/3 or in 153/4.

#### ZEUS BOULAIOS AND HESTIA BOULAIA

**16.** Inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, found on April 25, 1939, in the original fill of the Valerian wall, in Section I. Left side and bottom are preserved. The lower edges are deeply bevelled except at the corners, which give the base the appearance of standing on four legs. Remains of a large cutting are preserved on top. The fragment is broken at the right side and at the back,

Height, 0.17 m.

Width of inscribed face, 0.26 m.

Thickness, 0.225 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

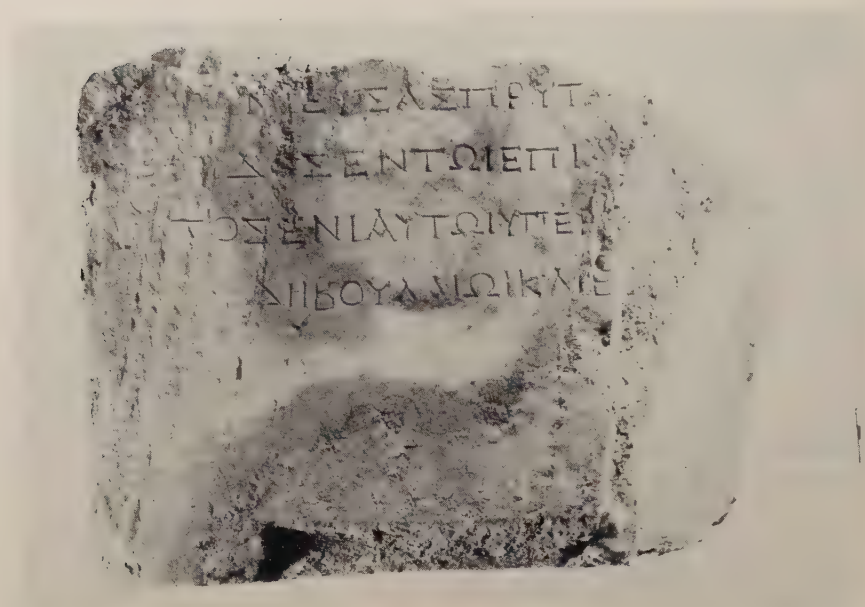
Inv. No. I 5797.

First century B.C.

[name, father's name, demotic]  
 ταμειύσας πρυτά[νεων τῆς <sup>ca. 24</sup>  $\frac{ca. 4}{-}$ ]  
 τίδος ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ἀ[ $\frac{ca. 6\frac{1}{2}}{-}$  ἄρχον]  
 τος ἐνιαυτῷ ὑπὲρ [τῆς φυλῆς]  
 5 Διὶ Βουλαίῳ καὶ Ἑ[στίαι Βουλαίαι].

<sup>145</sup> See, however, the note on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1772, line 5.

<sup>146</sup> See *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 85.



No. 16

It is assumed that only the first line of the inscription is missing because remains of the socket which received the dedication are still preserved on top of the fragment. This assumption is confirmed, moreover, by the inscription on two other fragments which belong to a similar monument (No. 17, below).

**17.** Fragment A: Inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, found on June 17, 1938, in a marble pile, in Section  $\Omega$ . Only part of the inscribed face and of the rough-picked top is preserved.

Height, 0.08 m.

Width, 0.255 m.

Thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 5543.

Fragment B: Inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, found on June 3, 1933, in a marble pit, in Section I. Only part of the inscribed face and of the smooth-picked right lateral side is preserved.



No. 17. Fragment A



Height, 0.15 m.

Width, 0.205 m.

Thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.013-0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 931.

53/2 B.C.

Μηνόδωρος Ἀρ[<sup>ca. 14</sup>— τα]

[μειύ]σας πρυτ[άνων τῆς Ἀκαμαντί]

[δος φυλῆς ἐν τῷ ἐπ]ὶ Διοδώ[ρου ἄρχον]

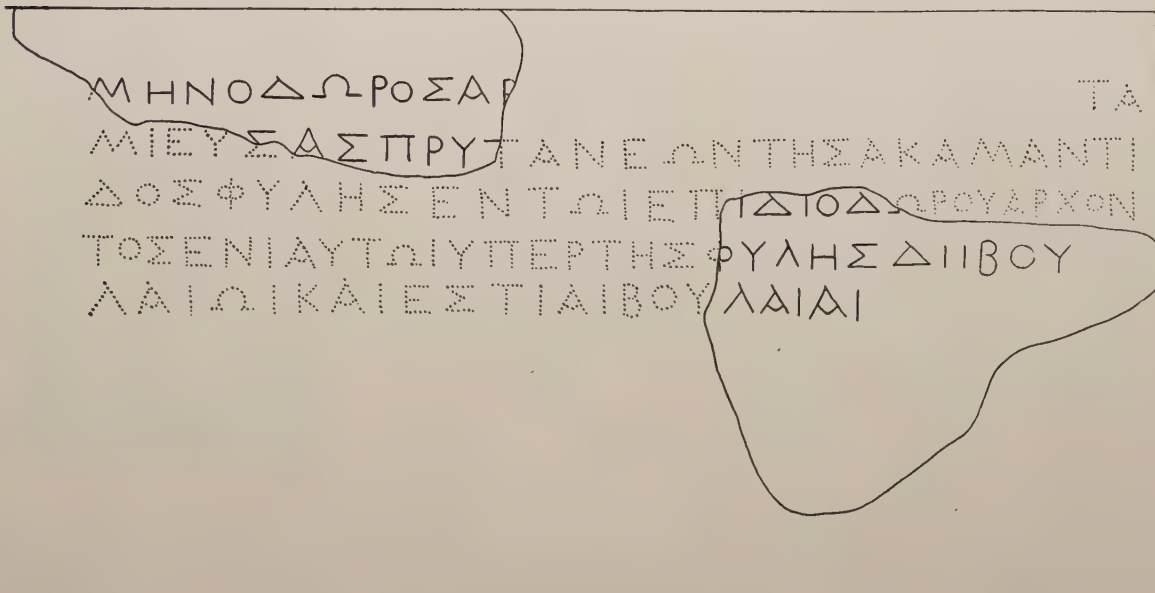
[τος ἐνιαυτῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς] φυλῆς Διὸς Βου

5 [λαίῳ καὶ Ἑστία Βου]λαίαι.



No. 17. Fragment B

The name of the tribe Akamantis can be restored from a prytany decree of this tribe honoring the treasurer Menodoros.<sup>147</sup> Since this decree and Menodoros' dedi-



Restored Drawing of No. 17

cation, to judge from the letter forms, belong to the same period, it may be assumed that the two treasurers with the name Menodoros were one and the same person. The name of the archon Diodoros is preserved on the dedication, and if the prytany decree belongs to the same year as the dedication, it too is dated in 53/2 B.C.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>147</sup> See *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 40-41, no. 8, lines 3-4; S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 181, no. 111.

<sup>148</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1713, line 19; 1716, line 29; compare S. Dow, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 578-588.

Each of the two monuments (Nos. 16 and 17) belongs to a dedication set up by a treasurer of the prytaneis after his term of office.<sup>149</sup>

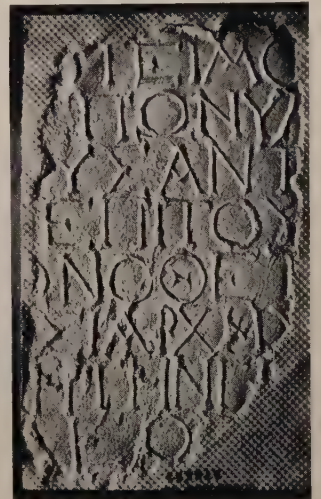
The names of the deities to whom the dedications were offered are only partly preserved on either monument, but they can be restored by reference to each other. It may therefore be assumed that both monuments were set up to Zeus Boulaios and to Hestia Boulaia.

The joint cult of Zeus Boulaios and of Hestia Boulaia is attested for several places in the Greek world,<sup>150</sup> and its existence has been determined also for Athens on the basis of the literary evidence.<sup>151</sup> The cult place of Zeus and Hestia was apparently located in the Bouleuterion, and the excavations conducted in this region have brought to light a marble altar tentatively identified as the altar of Zeus Boulaios.<sup>152</sup>

### THE ATHENIAN ARCHON DIOTEIMOS

18. To the inscription published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 74, no. 71 seven more fragments can be added six of which were recently found in the Agora Excavations while one has been known for many years.

The fragment previously published in *Hesperia* was found in Section I which contains part of the Valerian wall,<sup>153</sup> and five of the new fragments were excavated, on March 29 and 30, 1938, in the original fill of the Valerian wall, in Section II; these fragments bear the Inventory Number I 364. The sixth Agora fragment was found on January 25, 1937, in Section 00 which is also located near the Valerian wall; this fragment has the Inventory Number I 4428. The place of discovery of the inscription published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3580 is not known, but since U. Köhler saw it in the Hephaisteion (*I.G.*, III, 721: in Theseo), it may be assumed that this fragment, too, was found in the Agora.<sup>154</sup>



No. 18. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3580  
(Photograph from Squeeze)

<sup>149</sup> This is indicated by the participle *ταμειύσας*; for the phrase *ταμειύσας πρυτάνεων*, see K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, p. 227, no. 20a. For the office of the treasurer, see S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>150</sup> See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 259; III, pp. 1052, note 1, and 1125, note on II, p. 259; compare *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), nos. 404 and 405.

<sup>151</sup> See C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, II, pp. 320-321, note 5; A. Preuner in Roscher, *Lex. der Mythologie*, s.v. Hestia, cols. 2636-2637; Süss, *R.E.*, s.v. Hestia, cols. 1285, lines 44-59, and 1300, lines 54-56; A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, pp. 44-45; G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 1025; A. B. Cook (see note 150); L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, XXXVII, 1924, p. 180; Fehrle in Roscher, *Lex. der Mythologie*, s.v. Zeus, col. 612, lines 22-34.

<sup>152</sup> See H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 151-152 and 213.

<sup>153</sup> See the plan illustrated in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 360.

<sup>154</sup> J. Kirchner, however, states that it was found on the Akropolis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3580: in arce).

Two of the Agora fragments join the one previously published in *Hesperia*; both of these fragments have the bottom preserved, and one (I 4428) also contains part of the left lateral face. The dimensions of the combined fragments are: height, 0.43 m.; width, 0.41 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.28 m.

The remaining four Agora fragments join one another; they have the right lateral face preserved. The dimensions of the combined fragments are: height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.

The fragment published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3580 joins the one previously published in *Hesperia*. Through this combination the relative position of the two groups of fragments could be determined with certainty, and the following restoration may be suggested.



(Photograph from Squeeze)

No. 18. Agora Fragments

*ca.* A.D. 60

[.....<sup>ca. 16</sup>..... *ι*ε]ρέα [.....<sup>ca. 5</sup>]  
 [.....<sup>ca. 17</sup>..... *Τι*]βέριον Κλαύ  
 [διον Τιβερίου] Κλ[ανδίο]υ Θεοφίλο[υ]  
 [νιδόν Δι]ότειμο[ν Βησα]ιέα ἄρξαν  
 5 [τα τήν] ἐπώνυμ[ον ἀρχ]ήν καὶ  
 [κηρυκε]ύσαντ[α καὶ στ]ρατηγῇ



- [σαντα] ἐπὶ τοῦ[ς ὀπλε]ίτας τρὶς  
 [καὶ ἀγ]ωνοθετ[ήσαντ]α δις κα[ὶ]  
 [γυμνα]σιαρχήσ[αντα τρ]ὶς καὶ ἐ  
 10 [πιμελ]ητῆν γε[ν]όμ[εν]ον τῆς  
 [τε πό]λεως καὶ τῆς [τοῦ Μ]ητρού[ι]  
 [ου κοσμ]ήσεως χρη[ματί]σαν  
 [τα τὰ] ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ .<sup>ca. 4</sup>.]//[  
 [////]////////[////////]  
 15 [ἀρετ]ῆς τε καὶ τῆς ε[ἰς τὴν πα]  
 [τρίδα] εὐνοίας καὶ φιλ[οτιμίας]  
 ἔνε[κ]α ἐπιμεληθέν[των τῆς]  
 κατ[ασκ]ευῆς [ἐ]κ τῶν ἰ[δίω]ν  
 Τρο[φίμ. . .]ου Ἀθη[<sup>ca. 7</sup>]  
 20 Δάφ[νον . . .]ΘΩΝ[<sup>ca. 7</sup>].

*vacat*

The full name of Dioteimos has been restored with reference to an inscription honoring his son Τιβέριον Κ[λ]αύδιον Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Διοτέιμου υἱὸν Θεόφιλον Βησαίεα (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3930).<sup>155</sup> The father of Dioteimos, Theophilos, may be identified with Theophilos, son of Theopeithes, from Besa who was hoplite general at the beginning of the first century after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4478).<sup>156</sup> This identification places the activity of Dioteimos near the middle of the first century after Christ and makes it possible to restore his name in an inscription honoring the emperor Claudius, which is dated in the year A.D. 41/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3268, lines 9-11); [στρατηγού]ντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας Διοτ[ε]ίμου Θεοφίλου Βησ[α]ίεως.<sup>157</sup> It is tempting to identify the archon Dioteimos mentioned in a Roman dedicatory inscription (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4465) with Tiberius Claudius Dioteimos, but *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4465 is commonly dated *ca.* 26 B.C., and the archon Dioteimos is identified with the archon [Διό]τιμος from Halai mentioned in another inscription.<sup>158</sup> It is also possible that the man with the name Dioteimos who was for the third time paidotribes in A.D. 45/6 is identical with the archon Tiberius Claudius Dioteimos.<sup>159</sup> This office was too unimportant to be mentioned in

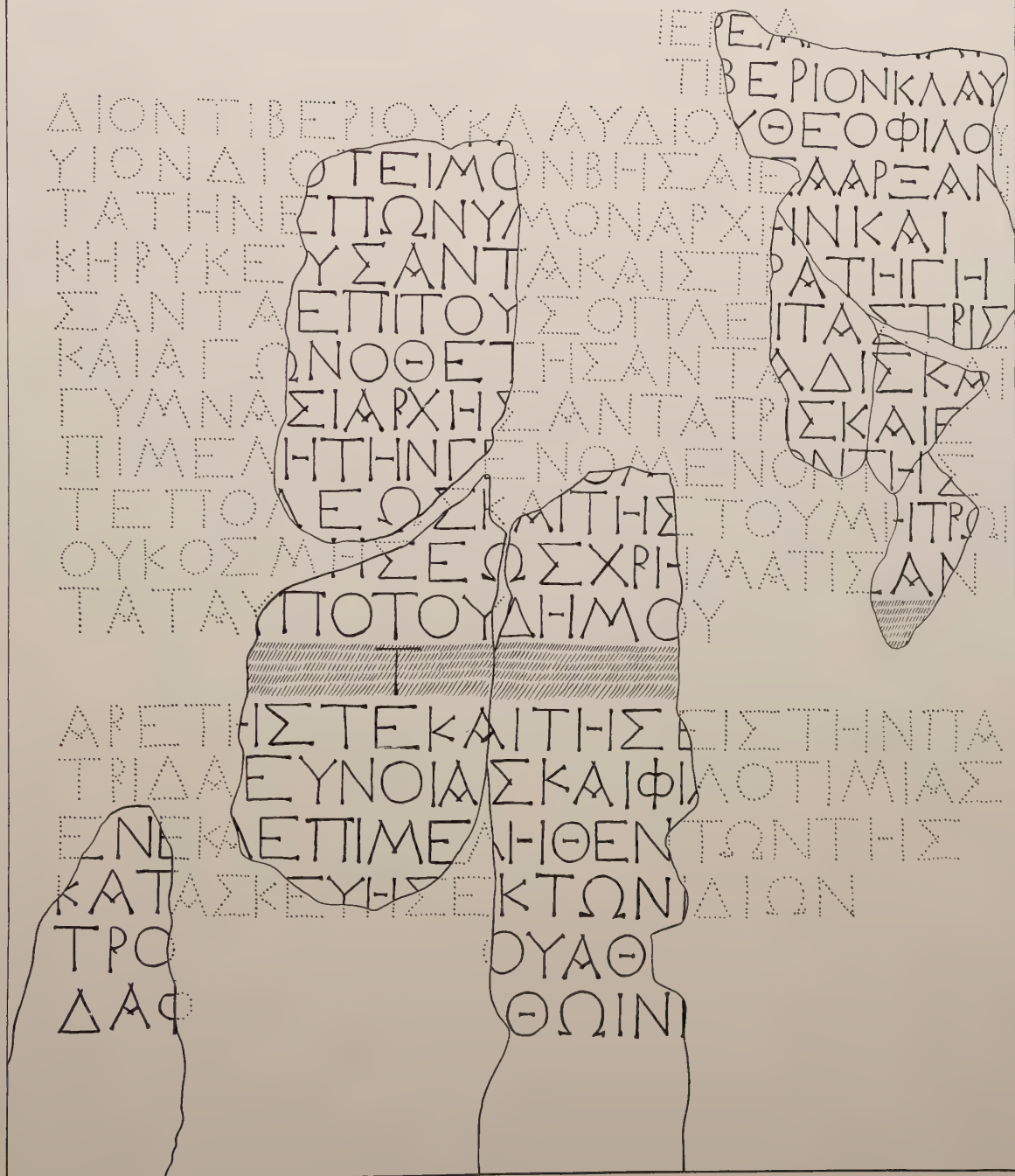
<sup>155</sup> Thus P. Graindor's restoration [Φιλ]ότιμο[υ] may now be abandoned; see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 84, note 27a.

<sup>156</sup> See J. Sundwall, *Nachträge*, pp. 94-95; P. Roussel and J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, XXXIII, 1909, p. 498, note 5; A. Stein, *P.I.R.*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 276, no. 1381; *Inscriptions de Délos*, nos. 1728 and 1729; *I.G.*, XII, Supplement, 1939, p. 139, no. 860; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, II, p. 764.

<sup>157</sup> This new reading was made from a squeeze; compare P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 77, note 2.

<sup>158</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2996; compare W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 247-248 and 287; *Inscr. de Délos*, no. 1840.

<sup>159</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1969, line 5, and 1970, line 5.



Restored Drawing of No. 18

the *cursus honorum* of Dioteimos which is contained in the inscription here under discussion.

The son of Dioteimos, Theophilos, is known not only from the honorary inscription mentioned above (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3930) but also from an ephebic monument on which the name of Theophilos from Besa appears inscribed within a crown (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1980). The list of known relatives of Dioteimos may be completed by reference to two tomb inscriptions (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5897 and 5902). Aphrodisios, son of Theophilos, from Besa (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5897) may have been a brother of the archon Dioteimos, while Tiberius Claudius Theophilos, son of Tiberius Claudius Themistokles, from Besa (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5902) was obviously a descendant of Dioteimos, although his relation cannot be determined with certainty. It is thus possible to restore the stemma of the family from *ca.* 250 B.C. to the second century after Christ.

An important event in the history of this family was the grant of Roman citizenship to Dioteimos, son of Theophilos, from Besa. In the year A.D. 41/2, when serving as hoplite general, Dioteimos had not yet received this honor since his name appears in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3268 (lines 10-11) without the Roman praenomen and nomen. His son Theophilos, who was an ephebe at about the same time, is also listed simply as Theophilos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1980). This shows that Dioteimos must have received Roman citizenship either under Claudius or under Nero.<sup>160</sup> If Aphrodisios, son of Theophilos, from Besa (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5897) was Dioteimos' brother, he must either have died before the family received the great honor, or else the grant of citizenship was confined to Dioteimos and his direct descendants. The inscription published here belongs to the time of Nero, if the erasure in lines 13-14 contained the name of this emperor, and in this inscription Dioteimos is listed with his new name as Tiberius Claudius Dioteimos. To the same period belongs the honorary inscription for Dioteimos' son, Theophilos, who now appears as Tiberius Claudius Theophilos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3930). Tiberius Claudius Themistokles may have been a brother, a son, or a nephew of Theophilos; a more distant relationship is made unlikely by the letter forms of the tomb inscription of Themistokles' son, Theophilos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5902; the stone is now lost), which seem to be not later than the first half of the second century after Christ.

Lines 1-9: The beginning of the inscription is lost but it probably contained the names of the public organizations by which Dioteimos was honored: Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἑξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος. After this followed a reference to at least one of the priestly offices held by Dioteimos, and the letters of the first preserved line [ιϵ]ρέα belong to this part of the inscription. There are traces of letters visible after [ιϵ]ρέα, but they cannot be restored to the name of any of the deities or deified rulers who are mentioned in this position in similar inscriptions. The full name

<sup>160</sup> See P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 88-89; *Herode Atticus*, p. 10; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, pp. 188-189; Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, pp. 140-141 and 280, note 41.



of Dioteimos is followed by a list of the public offices which he had held in the course of the years. Only one of them can be dated: Dioteimos was hoplite general, probably for the first time, in A.D. 41/2 (see above).

Lines 9-14: It is probable that the phrase τῆς [τε πό]λεως καὶ τῆς [τοῦ Μ]ητρῶ[ιου κοσμ]ήσεως (an uncertain but highly probable restoration) should be connected with the preceding ἐ[πιμελ]ητὴν γε[ν]όμ[εν]ον rather than with the following χρη[ματί]-σαν[τα]. It may be assumed, therefore, that Dioteimos held the office of ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως.<sup>161</sup> The phrase χρη[ματί]σαν[τα τὰ] ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ] is followed by an erasure which was probably due to the *damnatio memoriae* of the emperor Nero and contained the name of this emperor.<sup>162</sup> The following restoration has been tentatively suggested by Professor Oliver: χρη[ματί]σαν[τα τὰ] ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ εἰς θεοῦ Νέρωνος τειμὴν ψηφισθέντα]. This restoration is supported by the traces of a tau in line 14, which stands exactly where the word τ[ειμὴν] would begin. Dioteimos, according to this restoration, would have been ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως, and in special charge of the *κόσμησις τοῦ Μητρώιου*, when he conducted the negotiations concerning certain extraordinary honors granted to Nero. These honors cannot have consisted either of the honorary inscription on the Parthenon (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3277) or of that on the theatre building (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3182; see O. Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 599), but it may be assumed that they were connected in some way with the Metroön. So much is certain that Dioteimos had something to do with the adornment of the Metroön, and this information should be added to the evidence concerning the history of this building.<sup>163</sup>

Lines 17-20: For the restoration of the phrase ἐπιμεληθέντ[ων τῆς] κατ[ασκ]ευῆς [ἐ]κ τῶν ἰ[δίων], compare *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3266, lines 6-8; 4868; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 82-83, no. 35. The last two lines probably contained only the names of the two men who took care of the erection of the monument. The names cannot be restored with certainty. They may be completed either as Τρο[φίμου τ]οῦ Ἀθῆ[<sup>ca. 7</sup>—] | Δάφ[νου τοῦ Ἀ]θωνί[<sup>ca. 7</sup>—] or as Τρο[φίμιαν]οῦ Ἀθῆ[<sup>ca. 7</sup>—] | Δάφ[νου <sup>ca. 4</sup>—]θωνί[<sup>ca. 7</sup>—]. The restoration of the letters ΘΩΙΝΙ to the demotic [Μαρα]θω[<sup>ca. 7</sup>—] is possible but unlikely; compare K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, p. 67, no. 13.

<sup>161</sup> See B. Keil, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags*, p. 83, note 124; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 123; *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 80-82. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 39-40, has shown that the ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως was also called simply ἐπιμελητής; compare *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3277, line 5, with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1990, line 4. Another ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως: *R.E.*, s. v. Oinophilos (1); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3546, line 17; his name should be restored in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3185, lines 8-9. Cf. also Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, pp. 333-334.

<sup>162</sup> For similar erasures, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1989, 1990, 3182, 3266, 3278, 4111; compare P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 12, note 2.

<sup>163</sup> See H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 195, 221-222, and 224; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, pp. 180-181.

## ALTARS OF ZEUS OMBRIOS

The cult of Zeus Ombrios is attested for Attika only by Pausanias who reports (I, 32, 2) that there were altars of this deity on Mount Hymettus and on Mount Parnes.<sup>164</sup> The sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettus has now been located and excavated, and the remains prove that this sanctuary was still in use at the time of Pausanias.<sup>165</sup> To this period belong two, or perhaps three, altars of Zeus Ombrios which were found in the Agora of Athens.

19. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 12, 1934, in Section M. The stone is broken only on top, but the base moulding has been chipped off when the bottom was reused as a threshold. The right lateral face batters more than the left.

Height, 0.35 m.

Width, 0.71 m.

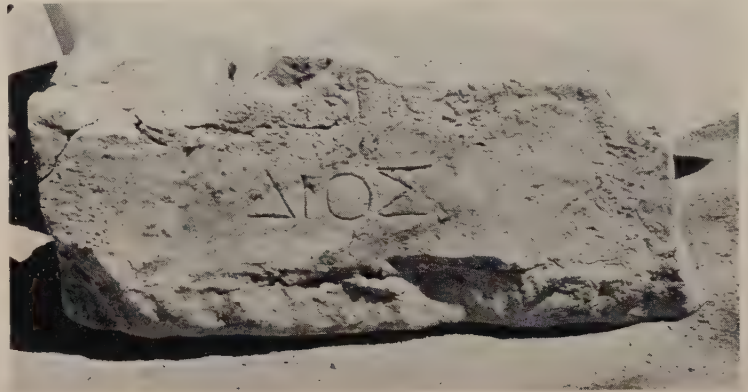
Thickness, 0.34 m.

Height of letters, 0.05-  
0.06 m.

Inv. No. I 1797.

ca. A.D. 100

Ὀμβρίον  
Διός.



No. 19

20. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 28, 1937, in Section Σ. Only part of the top is preserved.

Height, 0.157 m.

Width, 0.353 m.

Thickness, 0.106 m.

Height of letters, 0.051 m.

Inv. No. I 4825.

ca. A.D. 100

Ὀμβρίον  
[Διός].



No. 20

(Photograph from Squeeze)

<sup>164</sup> See M. H. Morgan, *T.A.P.A.*, XXXII, 1901, p. 89; J. W. Hewitt, *H.S.C.P.*, XIX, 1908, p. 82; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 897-898, notes 5-6; III, p. 526, notes 6 and 8; J. Schmidt, *R.E.*, s. v. Ombrios; cf. F. Jacoby, *Marmor Parium*, p. 33.

<sup>165</sup> See Morgan, *loc. cit.*, p. 89; Cook, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1226, Addenda to II, p. 897, note 5; III, p. 526, note 8; R. S. Young, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 1, 3, and 5.

The size and the shape of the letters on these two fragments are so similar that it may be assumed that the two inscriptions belong to different faces of the same base, or else to two altars of Zeus Ombrios which were erected on the same occasion and inscribed by the same stonecutter.

**21.** Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 28, 1937, in Section II. The top is reworked, and the base moulding is chipped off on all sides. The bottom has four clamp cuttings, two each at the front and at the back. The bottom contains also two dowel holes, one near each end. The inscribed face was reused as a threshold.

Height, 0.50 m.

Width (above moulding), 0.69 m.

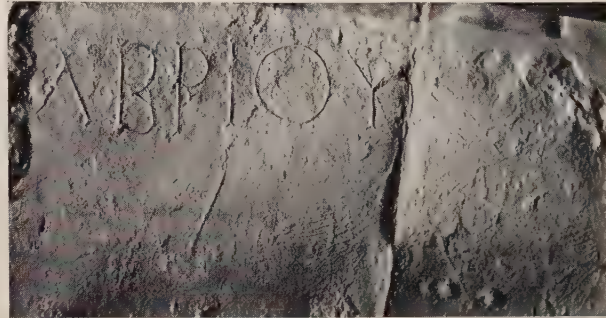
Thickness (above moulding),  
0.47 m.

Height of letters, 0.05-0.06 m.

Inv. No. I 4804.

ca. A.D. 100

[Διὸς]  
Ὀμβρίων.



No. 21

(Photograph from Squeeze. Part of initial  $\Theta$  shows on unphotographed portion of Squeeze.)

The letter forms of this inscription are somewhat different from those of the inscriptions on the other two altars, but both the size and the workmanship of the altar bases of all three monuments are very much alike.

It is unlikely that the heavy blocks on which the inscriptions are engraved were carried from a great distance to the Agora in order to be reused there. It may therefore be assumed that there was in Roman times a sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios in the Agora of Athens.

## THE PANHELLENIC ARCHON DORION

**22.** Two fragments of the inscription published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4076 were recovered during the excavations in the Agora and can be augmented by the addition of four more fragments.

Fragment A has the Inventory Number I 3461. It is broken on all sides and preserves only four letters of one line. It does not seem to join any of the other fragments, but its position has been determined on the basis of the restoration of the inscription.

The two fragments B and C join and have the left edge



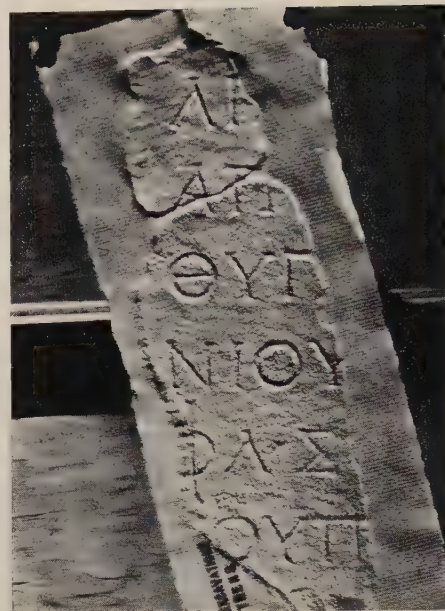
No. 22. Fragment A



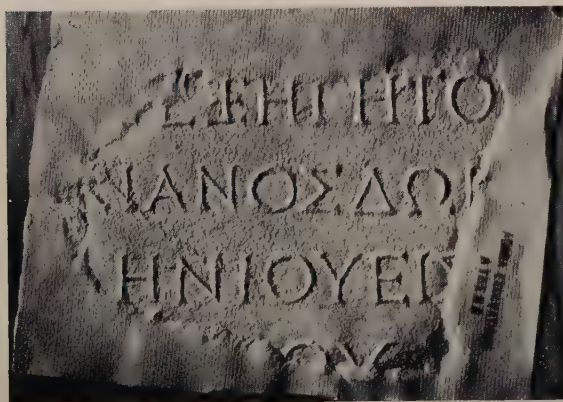
preserved. Fragment B, which is the smaller of the two, was found on February 25, 1936, built into the side wall of a well, in Section Σ. Fragment C was brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February 1936, and both Fragments B and C have the Inventory Number I 3461. The two fragments measure as joined: height, 0.332 m.; width, 0.097 m.; thickness, 0.172 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

The fourth of the new fragments joins both of the old fragments and preserves the right edge of the base. These three joining fragments were brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February 1936. Fragment E (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4076 a) has the Inventory Number I 3461; Fragments F (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4076 b) and D have the Inventory Number I 3486. Fragments D, E, and F measure as joined: height, ca. 0.30 m.; width, ca. 0.40 m.; thickness, 0.282 m.; height of letters, 0.021 m.

The original width of the base, as determined from the restoration of the inscription, was ca. 0.56 m.



No. 22. Fragments B and C  
(Photograph from Squeeze)



No. 22. Fragment E (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4076 a)  
(Photograph from Squeeze)

Shortly after A.D. 160/1

[Ἀππίαν Ἀννίαν Ῥή]γιλλ[αν Ἀτι]  
λία[ν Κανκιδίαν Τερτύλλα]ν  
Ἀπ[πίου ὑπάτου ποντίφ]ικος  
θυγ[ατέρα Ἡρώιδου Μα]ραθω  
5 νίου [ὑπάτο]υ ἐξηγητο[ῦ] γυναικα  
Φλ·Σο[υλπι]κιανὸς Δωρ[ίω]ν ἄρχων  
τοῦ Π[ανελ]ληνίου εἰς [πα]ρηγορίαν  
φ[ίλ]ου.

The restoration of lines 1-5 is based on the inscription of a similar monument which was set up by Herodes Atticus himself (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4072). Both monuments were erected after the death of Regilla.<sup>166</sup>

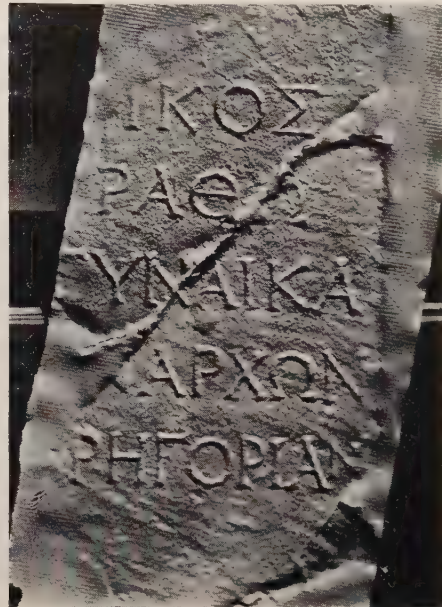
The significance of this inscription lies in the fact that it adds to our knowledge

<sup>166</sup> See P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, pp. 84, note 1, and 92-100. The epigraphical evidence concerning Regilla is assembled by A. Stein, *P.I.R.*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 134, no. 720; no. 6 of the testimonia is published as *Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 86, and no. 20 as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13200. See also J. Day, *An Economic History*, pp. 246-247. For φ[ίλ]ου see Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 328, fig. 11.

of Herodes Atticus and his family, that it contains the name of an hitherto unknown archon of the Panhellenes, and that this man and his family are known from other sources.

The Panhellenion was founded by Hadrian in 131/2 A.D. (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 384), and its history and organization, both political and religious, have been studied in detail by M. N. Tod and P. Graindor.<sup>167</sup>

The truly Panhellenic character of Hadrian's institution is indicated by the provenience of Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion. This man belongs to a noble Cretan family from Hierapytna. His father was probably the archpriest of the Cretan League, Titus Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion, who erected in A.D. 129 a statue of the Emperor Hadrian in Gortyna.<sup>168</sup> His brother was probably Lucius Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion who dedicated between A.D. 163 and 169 two statues to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus,<sup>169</sup> and, possibly at a later date, one or two statues of his son who was quaestor pro praetore of Bithynia.<sup>170</sup> All these dedications were made in Hierapytna which was probably the home of the family. It is quite possible that the famous Titus Flavius Sulpicianus, the father-in-law of the Emperor Pertinax, belonged to the same family. He may, in fact, have been identical with the Panhellenic archon of the same name.<sup>171</sup>



No. 22. Fragments D and F  
(F = *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4076 b)

(Photograph from Squeeze)

<sup>167</sup> See M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 173-180; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 1119-1121, note 4; P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 64; *Athènes sous Hadrien*, pp. 39, 52-53, 102-111. The inscription mentioning the Panhellenic archon Flavius Amphikles (Tod, *loc. cit.*, p. 177) is now published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2957. The epigraphical evidence for the Panhellenic archonship of Herodes Atticus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1088) was based on an incorrect restoration; see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 368. Oliver also corrected (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 86, note 32) another inscription mentioning a Panhellenic archon.

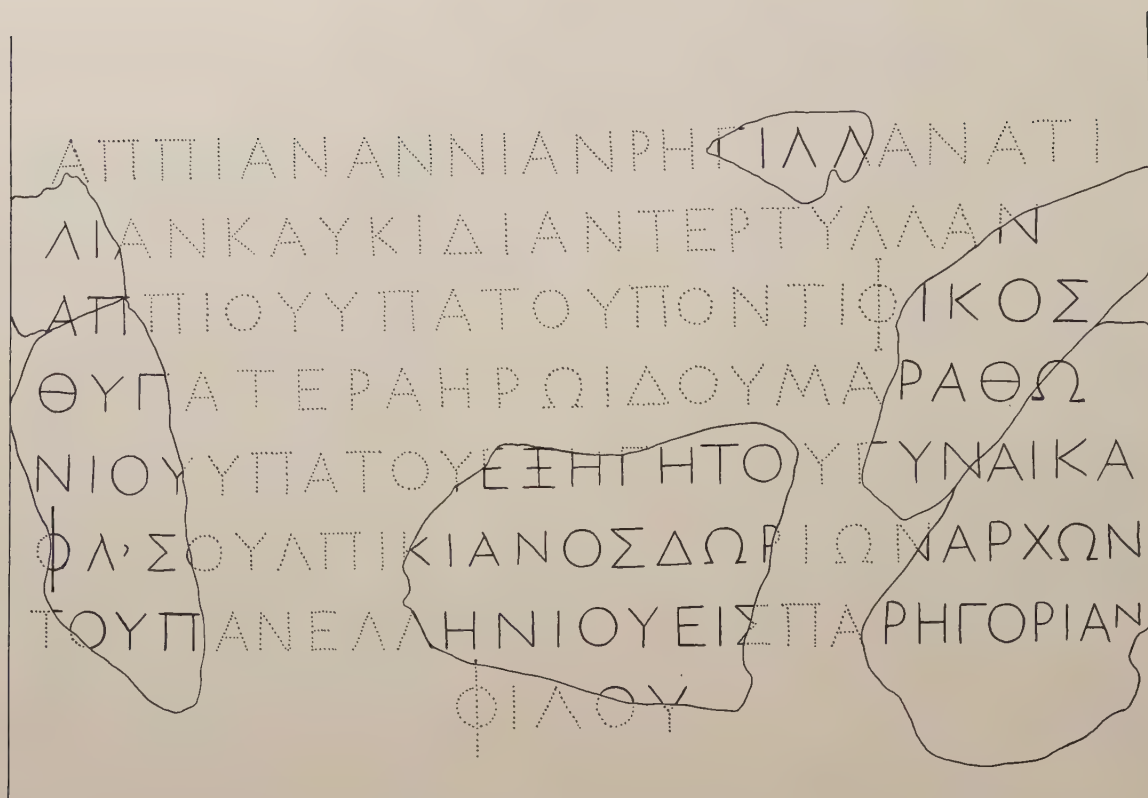
<sup>168</sup> See *I.G.R.*, I, no. 964; compare A. Stein, *R.E.*, s.v. Flavius, no. 186; W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, p. 145 (incorrectly transcribed). For the ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Κρητῶν, see Brandis, *R.E.*, s.v. Ἀρχιερεὺς, col. 475, lines 1-7; E. Kornemann, *R.E.*, Suppl. IV, cols. 930, lines 7-9, and 936, lines 15-21; G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 741, note 2; M. van der Mijnsbrugge, *The Cretan Koinon*, pp. 71-72; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, p. 1459, note 8.

<sup>169</sup> *I.G.R.*, I, nos. 1015 and 1016; see A. Stein, *R.E.*, s.v. Flavius, no. 187.

<sup>170</sup> *I.G.R.*, I, nos. 1017 and 1018; see A. Stein, *R.E.*, s.v. Flavius, no. 188.

<sup>171</sup> See A. Stein, *R.E.*, s.v. Flavius, nos. 185 and 248; compare also E. Groag, *P.I.R.*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 251, nos. 1034 and 1035.





Restored Drawing of No. 22

## TWO PRYTANY CATALOGUES OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

Our knowledge of the *ἀγῆστοι* who were in office between the years A.D. 166 and 169 has been enlarged by J. H. Oliver's restoration of the last lines of the catalogue published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773 and by his publication of a recently discovered prytany list which is dated in the earlier part of the year A.D. 168/9.<sup>172</sup> The now available evidence may be supplemented by another list of *ἀγῆστοι* which probably belongs to the year A.D. 165/6 and by the addition of two fragments to the document recently published by Oliver.

**23.** Fragment from a large block of Hymettian marble, found during the preliminary excavation in 1933, in Section Θ. Only the inscribed face and part of the bottom are preserved. The lower 0.10 m. of the front face is uninscribed.

<sup>172</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 50-51, no. 18.



Height, 0.33 m.

Width, 0.345 m.

Thickness, 0.355 m.

Height of letters, 0.004-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 282.

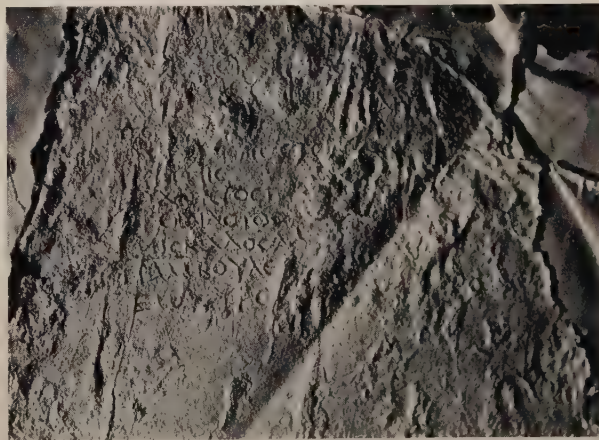
A.D. 165/6 (?)

- $\overline{\gamma\rho\alpha}[\mu(\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma) \beta]\omicron\upsilon\lambda[\eta]s [\kappa\alpha\iota \delta\eta\mu\omicron\nu]$   
 $[.] \epsilon\alpha[-^{ca. 3}-] \eta s \succ [---]$   
 $\acute{\alpha}\nu[\tau\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\phi] \epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$   
 $\Lambda\alpha[-^{ca. 12}-] \alpha\rho(---)$   
 5  $\pi\epsilon\rho[\iota \tau]\delta [\beta\eta\mu\alpha]$   
 $\Pi\alpha\pi[-^{ca. 4}-] \pi\omicron s \succ \Sigma[-^{ca. 5}-]$   
 $\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\upsilon\lambda\eta s$   
 $\text{Εὐχάριστος } \Pi[\alpha\rho\alpha\mu]\acute{o}[\nu\omicron\nu \text{ Ἐπιεικίδης}]$   
 $[\chi] \text{ Ϝ Εἰσίδοτος } \succ [\text{Μαρα}] \theta\acute{\omega}[\nu\iota\omicron s]$   
 10  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \Sigma\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron s \text{ Ἀφ}[\rho\omicron\delta\iota\sigma\iota\omicron s]$   
 $\overline{\gamma\rho\alpha\mu}(\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma) \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon[\nu\tau\hat{\omega}\nu]$   
 $\text{Ζώπυρο}[s \text{ Ἀλεξάνδ}] \rho\omicron\nu \text{ Ἀθ}[\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}s].$

The name of the secretary of the prytaneis (line 12) has been restored with reference to the tomb inscription published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5336, which is dated by J. Kirchner in the second century after Christ. The list of the *αἵσιτοι* was therefore part of a prytany catalogue of the tribe Attalis to which the deme Athmonon belonged in this period.

Aphrodisios (line 10) is known as the official *ἐπὶ Σκιάδος* of the years A.D. 166/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773, line 66; see *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539) and 167/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774, line 78). The office changed hands in A.D. 168/9 (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, lines 22-24), and the inscription published here must therefore be earlier than this year.

Similarly, Isidotos (line 9) held the office of undersecretary in the years A.D. 166/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773, line 65; see *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539), 167/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774, line 77), and 168/9 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1775, line 48; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, line 21).



No. 23

(Photograph from Squeeze)

The office changed hands in A.D. 169/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1776, line 44), and the inscription published here must therefore be earlier than this year.

Eucharistos (line 8) is known as the flutist of the year A.D. 167/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774, lines 75-77). The office changed hands in the latter part of A.D. 168/9 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1775, line 47), but Eucharistos was still in office in the earlier part of this year (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, line 19). His name appears again as that of one of the *αἰσῆται* in an inscription which is dated *ca.* A.D. 170-180 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1790, line 31). Both Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1774, note on line 75) and more recently Oliver (*A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539) assumed that Eucharistos was reappointed as flutist after an interval of at least two years during which Epigonos held that office (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1775, line 47; 1776, line 43; 1781, lines 50-51).

The names of the officials listed in lines 1-6 cannot be restored, but a comparison of the remains of their names with the names of the corresponding officials mentioned in the catalogues of the years A.D. 166-169 shows that the inscription published here cannot belong to any of these years.<sup>173</sup> This document must be earlier, however, than the year A.D. 168/9, and therefore it must belong either to A.D. 165/6 or to an even earlier year. It is now possible to restore the name of the flutist of the year 166/7 A.D. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773; see *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539). Since Eucharistos held this office before and after this year, his name may be restored in line 64: *ἱεραύλης* [*Εὐχάριστος*].

24. The prytany catalogue of the tribe Ptolemais published by Oliver in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 50-51, no. 18, is engraved on a shield which is carved upon an unfinished Doric column drum of the Roman period. The inscribed face is slightly convex, and the centre of the shield was occupied by a large wreath carved in low relief. The list of the permanent officials is engraved below this wreath, and it is continued in the last ten lines of the last column to the right of the wreath. If the wreath was placed exactly in the middle of the shield, as it seems to be, the space above it would have been occupied by the normal prescript containing the date and the dedicatory formula. The catalogue of the councillors was therefore engraved in two columns both to the left and to the right of the wreath.

Two small fragments can be added to the inscription published by Oliver. One of them (Fragment A) can be placed with certainty since part of the rim of the shield is preserved on it. The other (Fragment B) contains part of the name list and may belong either to the first or to the third column. The inscribed face of both fragments is slightly convex, and this fact as well as the similarity in the letter forms helped in establishing the combination.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>173</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1773, lines 60-63; 1774, lines 68-74; 1775, lines 44-46; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, lines 15-18.

<sup>174</sup> The height of the letters is by mistake given as 0.008 m. in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 50, no. 18; they are in fact between 0.012 and 0.014 m., and this is also the height of the letters of the newly added Fragments A and B.

Fragment A was found in 1931 in an insignificant context. Only the front surface is preserved; although it is badly worn, it apparently curves slightly in both directions. Remains of the rim of the shield are preserved at the lower end of the fragment.

Height, 0.333 m.

Width, 0.096 m.

Thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.012-0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 99.

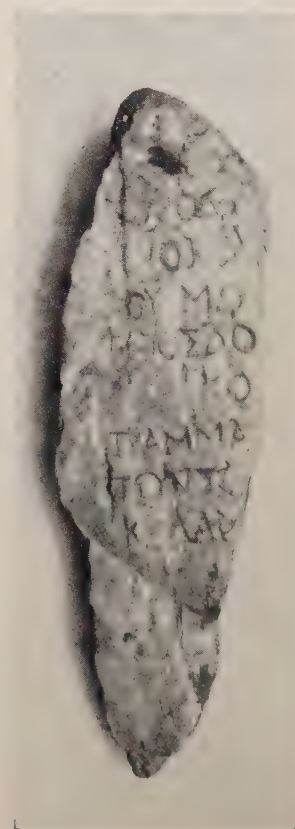
A.D. 168/9

Ἀφροδ[---]  
 Προκλ[---]  
 Ἰού(λιος) Μο[ντανός]  
 Προσδό[κιμος ---]  
 5 Κο[---]  
 γραμμα[τεὺς βουλευ]  
 τῶν Σω[---]  
 Κ[υ]δαν[τίδης].

The name in line 2 could also be read as Ἱεροκλ[---]. Julius Montanus (line 3) may be identified with the man of the same name who was hyposphronistes in 169/70 A.D. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2097, line 184). The demotic of the secretary of the prytaneis (line 8), Kydantides, confirms the identification of the document as a prytany list of the tribe Ptolemais. This is, incidentally, one of the rare occurrences of this demotic in the Roman period.<sup>175</sup>

The exact location of the new fragment can be determined by comparing the curving of the preserved part of the shield rim with the shield rim preserved on the previously published fragment. From this comparison it may be deduced that line 8 of Fragment A corresponds to line 19 of *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18.

Fragment B was found on June 14, 1933, in Section Z. It is broken all around and the inscribed surface shows a slight convex curving.



No. 24. New Fragment  
 (A) of *Hesperia*,  
 XI, No. 18

<sup>175</sup> The only other one is contained in a much later document which was recently published by Oliver, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXI, 1940, p. 308, line 12; see A. von Schoeffer, *R.E.*, s. v. *Δήμοι*, cols. 81-82, no. 90; compare W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, p. 430.



Height, 0.225 m.

Width, 0.105 m.

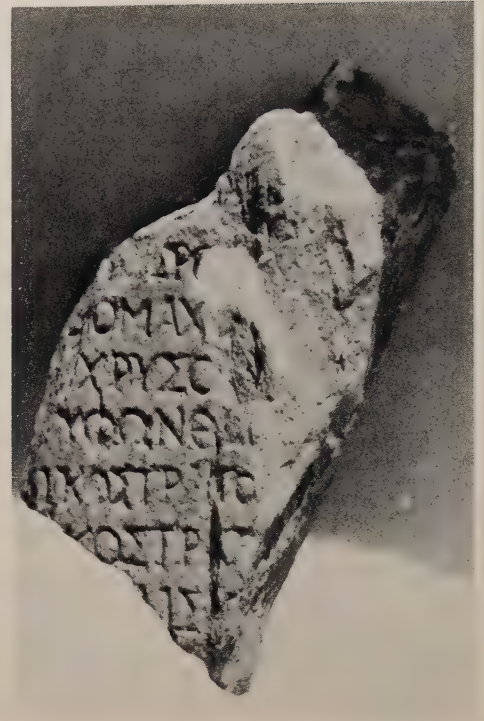
Thickness, 0.126 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 965.

A.D. 168/9

- [—<sup>CR. 3</sup>—δ]ωρο[ς ---]  
 [Νικ]όμαχ[ος ---]  
 [Στά(τιος)] Χρυσό[γονος]  
 [Τ]ρύφων Θεο[---]  
 5 [Ν]ικόστρατο[ς ---]  
 [Νι]κόστρατ[ος ---]  
 [Ἀφρο]δίς[ι]ο[ς ---]



No. 24. New Fragment (B) of  
*Hesperia*, XI, No. 18

Fragment B has been associated with the other two fragments because of the similarity in the size and shape of the letters and in the curving of the inscribed surface. The exact position of this fragment cannot be determined, but the preserved names seem to belong to the panel of the councillors from the deme Phlya, because three of these names (lines 2, 3, and 5-6) may be identified with known Athenians from this deme. For Nikomachos (line 2), see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2018, lines 11-12; 2103, line 107; 2111/12, line 48. For Nikostratos (lines 5-6), see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2068, line 67; 2102, line 54; 2103, line 106; 2191, line 24. The restoration of the name of Statius Chrysogonos (line 3) is based on the assumption that the preserved letters ΧΡΥΣΟ belong to the beginning of a name which must then have been preceded by a Roman nomen. It is possible that the councillor Chrysogonos is identical with Statius Chrysogonos who was an ephebe in A.D. 142/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2049, line 50); relatives are mentioned in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1765, line 6; 2020, line 55; 2044, line 42; 2107, line 23; 2193, line 148; 2199, line 61.

The surface of the fragment published by Oliver (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 50, no. 18) is in part badly worn, especially the area containing lines 7-11. It seems that line 9 was filled by the name of a deme, and that in line 10 the first five letters of the name Εὐρυχ[---] can be read on a squeeze.

## L. LUCILIUS PANSa PRISCILLIANUS

25. The career of L. Lucilius Pansa Priscillianus has been reconstructed from a passage in Dio Cassius (LXXIX, 21, 3-5) and from four inscriptions, two from Ephesos (*Forschungen*, III, pp. 138-139, no. 53), one from Ausculum (*C.I.L.*, IX, 663), and one from Canusium (*C.I.L.*, IX, 338).

The inscription from Ausculum belongs to a tombstone set up by L. Lucilius Pansa Priscillianus to a lady who was, according to the commonly accepted restoration, his patrona, but who may equally well have been his wife.<sup>176</sup> Pansa himself was probably not of a good family, but he may well have married a woman whose father and brother were Roman consuls and who belonged to a family which was related to the Scipiones.<sup>177</sup> The inscription from Ausculum belongs to the end of the second century after Christ, since the lady's father was consul in A.D. 149, and her brother held this office in A.D. 178.<sup>178</sup>

The inscription from Canusium belongs to the year A.D. 223, and there a L. Lucilius Priscillianus is mentioned as a man of senatorial rank. Since Pansa and Priscillianus can hardly be identical, they may have been father and son.<sup>179</sup> This assumption has been made by J. Keil in the publication of the two inscriptions from Ephesos.<sup>180</sup>

One of the Ephesian inscriptions is engraved on the base of an honorary statue of the procurator of Asia, L. Lucilius Priscillianus. The other, inscribed on a similar monument, honors the man of senatorial rank, L. Lucilius Priscillianus, who was the son of the procurator of Asia, L. Lucilius Pansa Priscillianus. Keil suggested that Pansa was the procurator of Asia known from the Ephesian inscription mentioned above, and that his son, who had senatorial rank, was the man known from the inscription from Canusium. Both were honored in Ephesos probably while Pansa was procurator of Asia. The date of the Ephesian inscriptions cannot be determined with certainty, but it may be assumed that Pansa was at that time well advanced in years since his son had already the rank of a senator. A more accurate date for the careers both of Pansa and of his son is gained by E. Groag's assumption that the son is identical with Lucius Priscillianus who was one of the favorites of the Emperor Caracalla.<sup>181</sup> Dio Cassius reports (LXXIX, 21, 3-5) that after the murder of Caracalla, Priscillianus was put on trial by the Senate. This man was famous both for his insolent behaviour and for his killing of wild beasts. Many men of equestrian and

<sup>176</sup> See, however, E. Groag, *P.I.R.*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 359, no. 1447.

<sup>177</sup> See E. Groag, *P.I.R.*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 357, no. 1444.

<sup>178</sup> See *P.I.R.*, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 358-360, nos. 1447 and 1448.

<sup>179</sup> See *P.I.R.*, II, p. 304, nos. 289 and 290.

<sup>180</sup> *Forschungen in Ephesos*, III, p. 139.

<sup>181</sup> See *R.E.*, s. v. Lucilius, nos. 29 and 30.

senatorial rank lost their lives because of false charges brought against them by Priscillianus. Because of this and because of his combats with animals he was greatly honored by Caracalla. The emperor put him into the Senate with the rank of a praetor and made him ruler over the province Achaia. Since he was hated by the Senate, he was put on trial after Caracalla's death, and he was exiled to an island. Dio's account is clear and has always been correctly interpreted. Only the reference to Priscillianus' fights with wild animals deserves further comment. He was not a public entertainer who appeared in the arena, but he was, like the emperor himself, fond of showing his physical strength.<sup>182</sup> This activity should therefore not be taken as evidence of his low social status; on the contrary, it shows that Priscillianus belonged, at least financially, to the upper classes.

If Groag's identification is accepted, it must be assumed that Priscillianus became a member of the Senate and held office in Achaia during the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 212-217). Since the two Ephesian inscriptions are contemporary and since one of them refers to Priscillianus as a man of senatorial rank, they too must belong to the same period, and Pansa was therefore procurator of Asia in the time of Caracalla.

Groag's combination has not been accepted by A. Stein who assumed that the favorite of Caracalla mentioned by Dio was identical with the procurator of Asia rather than with the procurator's son.<sup>183</sup> Groag himself had the occasion to review all the evidence, and he retained his previously suggested identification.<sup>184</sup> A fragmentarily preserved inscription of a statue base found in the Agora excavations seems to confirm Stein's interpretation and adds considerably to our knowledge of the career of L. Lucilius Pansa Priscillianus.

The nine fragments were found at different times and in different places, and they carry different inventory numbers. The material seems to be difficult to determine. It is apparently a dull, white marble with micaceous grey, blue, and purple veins. It seems unnecessary to give the measurements of the individual fragments since both the original width of the base and the height of the inscription are preserved. All but one of the fragments apparently join into one piece.

Fragments A and B: Found on May 7, 1938, in the original fill of the Valerian wall, north of the Hypapanti Gate, in Section II. Inv. No. I 5327 (II 423 b and 423 a).

Fragments C, E, and F: Found on May 9, 1938, in the Valerian wall, north of the Hypapanti Gate, in Section II. Inv. No. I 5327 (II 427 a and 427 b).

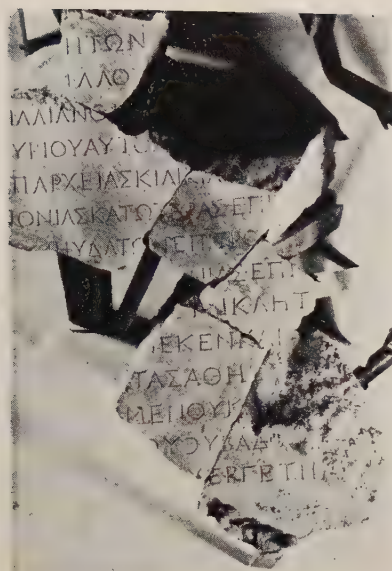
Fragments D and I: Found on March 17, 1938, in the south wall of Hypapanti, in Section II. Inv. No. I 5327 (II 297 a and 297 b).

<sup>182</sup> See W. Reusch, *Klio*, Beiheft XXIV, 1931, p. 37.

<sup>183</sup> *Der römische Ritterstand*, pp. 172-173; see also p. 288. Stein's view has been accepted by P. Lambrechts, *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, I/8, 1937, p. 52, nos. 612 and 613; see, however, p. 36, no. 323.

<sup>184</sup> *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia*, cols. 82-84.





No. 25. Fragments A, C, D,  
E, F, and I



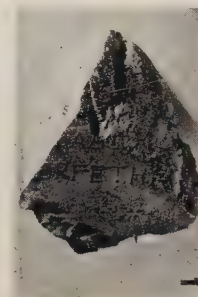
Frag. D



Frag. G



Frag. H



Frag. I

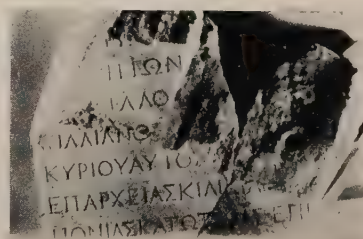
No. 25. Fragments D, G, H, and I

Fragment G: Found on December 31, 1936, in Section 00. Inv. No. I 4381.

Fragment H: Found on January 28, 1938, in a Turkish wall, in Section II. Inv. No. I 5179.

Fragments A, C, D, E, F, and I have already been joined by the excavators in Athens, while Fragments B, G, and H have been merely attributed by them to the same monument as the other fragments. Fragment B can be placed with certainty, but it does not join any of the other fragments. Fragment G can be joined to Fragment E. The close association of Fragments C, D, E, and G provides the original width of the monument, since Fragment C preserves the left edge, Fragment G the right edge of the base. Fragment H must belong to the left lower corner of the statue base since its second and third lines begin at a greater distance from the left edge than its first badly preserved line and the four lines of Fragment C. The position suggested here for Fragment H has been determined from the restoration of its inscription. It may well be that it joins Fragment C, but this assumption must be tested on the fragments in Athens.

The original width of the base is preserved, but it can now only approximately be determined, since Fragment G was not joined to the other fragments when the



No. 25. Detail of Fragments  
A and C

monument was studied in Athens. Measured on a composite squeeze the width of the inscribed front face is *ca.* 0.66 m. The height of the base is not preserved since Fragments A and B are broken at the top and Fragment I is broken at the bottom. Yet both the first and last lines of the inscription are preserved, and the total height of the inscription is (measured on the composite squeeze) *ca.* 0.645 m. The original height of the pedestal may have been approximately one metre; thus the proportion between height and width was as three to two. All fragments are broken at the back; the thickness of the base may have been the same as its width, *ca.* 0.66 m.

*ca.* A.D. 215-217

- [Ἡ ἐξ Ἀ]ρε[ίου πάγο]ν βο[υλὴ καὶ ἡ]  
 [βου]λὴ τῶν [Φ καὶ ὁ] δῆμος [ὁ Ἀθη]  
 [ναίω]ν· Λ· Λου[κίλιον Πά]νσ[α Πρεισ]  
 κιλλιανὸν [ἡγημόνα(?) πρεσβευτὴν(?) τοῦ]  
 5 κυρίου αὐτοκ[ράτορος· ἐπίτροπον]  
 ἐπαρχείας Κιλικίας [· ἐπίτροπον Παν]  
 νονίας κατωτέρας· ἐπίτ[ροπον τῶν ἐν]  
 [Ῥ]ώμῃ ὑδάτων· ἐπίτροπ[ον Πόντου(?) Βιθυν]  
 [νίας(?) Παφλαγο(?)]νίας· ἐπίτ[ροπον Ἀσίας]  
 10 [πατέρα] συνκλητικῶν.  
 [ἀρετῆς ἔ]νεκεν καὶ [τῇ]ς εἰς τὴν  
 πα[τρίδ]α τὰς Ἀθῆν[ας εὐν]ο[ί]ας χάρι[ν].  
 αἰτ[ησα]μένον κ[αὶ ἐπιμεληθέντος]  
 Θεο[φίλ]ου > Ὑβάδο[ν τὸν ἐαυτοῦ]  
 15 [φίλον καὶ ε]ὐεργέτην.

The significance of the inscription depends on the correctness of the restoration of Priscillianus' name. The praenomen and the partly preserved gentile in line 3 cannot belong to the father's name because the immediately following name (restored here to [Πά]νσ[α]) must belong to a cognomen. It seems, therefore, that the name of Pansa's father was not mentioned in the inscription. This may be taken as an indication that Pansa's father did not belong to the Roman nobility. Similarly, in the inscription from Ausculum (*C.I.L.*, IX, 663) and in one of the Ephesian inscriptions (*Forschungen*, III, no. 53) no mention is made of Pansa's father.

The restoration of line 4 is uncertain. It is based on the assumption that the man honored in this inscription is the same Priscillianus whom Caracalla ἐς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐσεγράφη and who τῆς Ἀχαΐας καὶ παρὰ τὸ καθήκον ἦρχεν. The normal title πρεσβευτῆς ἀντιστρατηγός seems to be too long for the available space (see E. Kornemann, *Klio*, XXXI, 1938, pp. 89-90).

Lines 5-9 contain the *cursus honorum* of Pansa in chronological order. He was first procurator of Cilicia and was at that time at the lowest step of the procuratorial

Η ΕΞΑΡΧΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΓΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Η  
 ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΩΝ ΦΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΘΗ  
 ΝΑΙΩΝ Λ. ΛΟΥΚΙΛΙΟΝ ΠΑΝΣΑΤΡΕΙΣ  
 ΚΙΛΛΙΑΝΟΝ ΗΓΗΜΟΝΑΤΡΕΣ ΒΕΥΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ  
 ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ  
 ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΣ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΠΑΝ  
 ΝΟΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΩΤΕΡΑΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ  
 ΡΩΜΗ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΘΥ  
 ΝΙΑΣ ΠΑΦΛΑΓΟΝΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ  
 ΠΑΤΕΡΑΣ ΥΠΟΚΛΗΤΙΚΩΝ  
 ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΕΚΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ  
 ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ ΤΑΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ  
 ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ  
 ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ ΣΥΒΑΔΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ  
 ΦΙΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ

Restored Drawing of No. 25



career.<sup>185</sup> His next office was the procuratorship of lower Pannonia, and in this position he had the rank of a centenarius.<sup>186</sup> After his activity in the provinces, Pansa became procurator aquarum in the city of Rome; this was, strictly speaking, not an advancement, but it brought him into the metropolis of the empire.<sup>187</sup> Pansa's next two positions were both provincial procuratorships, but the names of the provinces cannot be restored with certainty. The restoration of lines 8-9 is quite hypothetical, and it presupposes that Pansa was promoted to the rank of a ducenarius, since the procurator of the provinces Pontus and Bithynia had this rank in the third century after Christ.<sup>188</sup> The restoration of the end of line 9 is based on the identification of the man honored in this inscription with the procurator of Asia whose statue was set up in Ephesos (*Forschungen*, III, no. 53). Since the Athenian inscription must be later than the two inscriptions from Ephesos, and since it contains the *cursus honorum* of Pansa, it must have made reference to his procuratorship of Asia.<sup>189</sup>

The restoration of line 10 was kindly supplied by David Magie, and it seems supported by the many similar phrases collected by A. Stein.<sup>190</sup> The words [πατέρα] συνκλητικῶν added to the *cursus honorum* of the procurator Pansa would indicate that his son was given the senatorial rank at a time when he, the father, was still holding office as a procurator. Exactly this has already been deduced by Stein from the Ephesian inscription which honors Pansa's son as συγκλητικός.<sup>191</sup>

We learn from the Athenian inscription that Pansa was not merely procurator of Asia when Caracalla promoted him to the rank of a senator, but he had passed through the many stages of the procuratorial career. Dio does not mention this at all, but it is possible that his reference to the false charges made by Pansa against men of equestrian and senatorial rank is, in fact, a reflection on Pansa's activity as a procurator.<sup>192</sup>

Lines 11-12 contain the motivation for the honors granted to Pansa. This is expressed in one of the most conventional phrases except for the words τὰς Ἀθῆν[ας] which were added in order to make clear that τὴν πα[τρίδ]α referred to Athens.<sup>193</sup>

Lines 13-15 are slightly indented and contain a reference to the erection of the monument. For the word αἰτ[ησα]μένον, compare *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3960, and G. Gerlach, *Griech. Ehreninschriften*, p. 92. It means that Theophilus urged the Athenian authorities (mentioned in lines 1-2) to honor Pansa; once the honors were officially expressed Theophilus received the permission to erect a statue of the honored bene-

<sup>185</sup> See G. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 437, note 1.

<sup>186</sup> See Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 436, note 3 (on p. 437).

<sup>187</sup> See Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, note 3, and 439, note 8; compare Dessau, no. 478. For the phrase ἐν Ῥώμῃ, see *I.G.R.*, III, no. 174, line 24.

<sup>188</sup> See Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 375, 379, note 5, and 436, note 2.

<sup>189</sup> This office, too, was held by a ducenarius; see Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 436, note 2.

<sup>190</sup> *Der römische Ritterstand*, pp. 294-297.

<sup>191</sup> See Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>192</sup> Compare Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 405, note 4.

<sup>193</sup> A similar phrase is found in *I.G.R.*, IV, no. 574, lines 6-7.

factor. The man who erected the statue of Pansa, Theophilos, son of Theophilos, from Hybadai, is not quite unknown.<sup>194</sup> His brother Tryphon was herald of the Areopagus in A.D. 209/210 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1077, lines 14-16), and several years earlier kosmetes of the ephebes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2193). His relation to the imperial house is clearly indicated by the honors granted to him by the emperors. Theophilos himself had a son with the name of Apollonios who was a classmate of the sons of Tryphon (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2193, lines 10, 22, and 62). It is quite clear that the family of Theophilos from Hybadai must have been wealthy and pro-Roman.<sup>195</sup> The erection of a statue of Pansa by one of the members of this family shows that Athens was not quite bare of new monuments at the beginning of the third century after Christ.<sup>196</sup>

### A DEDICATION TO NEMESIS

26. The inscription published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 77, no. 77 has been correctly restored by J. Kirchner as a dedication to the Goddess Nemesis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4817 a).<sup>197</sup> This restoration is now confirmed by the addition of a new fragment which makes it possible to complete the whole inscription, to determine the character of the monument on which it is engraved, and to identify the dedicator of this monument.

The new fragment is of Pentelic marble. It was found on May 7, 1937, in the foundations of a late Roman house to the east of the Tholos, in Section Z. It is part of a small altar. Its original height and thickness are preserved, but it is broken to the right and to the left; the old fragment joins on the right side and has the right lateral face preserved. On top is a slight hollow. The front and back faces are bounded above and below by mouldings which are broken away on the new fragment but which are still preserved on the old one.

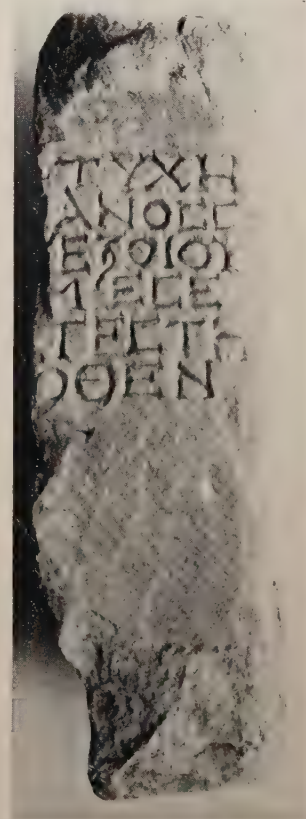
Height, 0.212 m.; original height (preserved on the old fragment), 0.235 m.

Width, 0.12 m.; original width, *ca.* 0.15 m.

Thickness without the mouldings, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.1012 m.

Inv. No. I 4790.



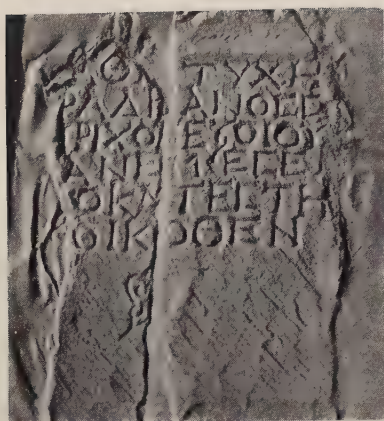
No. 26. *Hesperia*, III,  
No. 77 (= *I.G.*,  
II<sup>2</sup>, 4817 a)

<sup>194</sup> See R. Neubauer, *Hermes*, XI, 1876, p. 152.

<sup>195</sup> For the relation between Athens and Septimius Severus, see J. Day, *An Economic History*, pp. 200-202.

<sup>196</sup> See Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.

<sup>197</sup> For the cult of Nemesis in Athens, see H. Herter, *R.E.*, s. v. Nemesis, col. 2356, lines 58-68.



No. 26. New Fragment Joined  
to *Hesperia*, III, No. 77

(Photograph from Squeeze)

ca. 240 A.D.

[Ἀγ]αθῇ Τύχῃ.  
[Αὐ]ρ(ήλιος) Ἀδρ[ι]ανὸς Σω  
[τ]ηρίχου ἐξ Οἴου  
[θ]εᾷ Νεμέσει  
[ἀ]ποκατέστη  
[σε] οἴκοθεν.

The restoration θεᾷ Νεμέσει, now confirmed by the addition of the new fragment, has already been suggested by A. Wilhelm.<sup>198</sup> The phrase ἀποκατέστησε οἴκοθεν indicates that the dedicator restored the altar at his own expense.<sup>199</sup> It may well be that this restoration included not only the altar itself but also the whole shrine together with the altar.

Kirchner suggested for the old fragment a date in the second or third centuries after Christ. A more accurate date may now be given since the dedicator, Aurelius Hadrianus is known from two other documents. A young man of his name was ca. 226 A.D. an ephebe of the tribe Leontis to which Oion belongs, and more than twenty years later the same man was ὑποσωφρονιστής of the ephebes.<sup>200</sup> His dedication to Nemesis may therefore be dated in the second quarter of the third century after Christ.

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#### ΠΡΑΞΙΚΛΕΗΣ ΣΩΦΟΡΤΟΥ

Councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C.

It is suggested in the publication *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, line 11, and p. 237 that Σωφόρτου may be a mistake for Σωφόρβου: but Sophortos, though not recorded in Pape or Kirchner, appears as the name of a workman on the Arkesilas cup in the Cabinet des Médailles (*C.V.*, pls. 20-21). The background to left of the first sigma is repainted, and there is room for another letter, so Buschor (in *F.R.*, III, p. 211) reads [ι]σοφορτος, which he appears to explain as an announcement to the king: but the old reading Σοφορτος, which goes back to Welcker, is doubtless correct. The Agora stone, and the Laconian cup, support each other.

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J. D. BEAZLEY

<sup>198</sup> In a letter to B. D. Meritt, dated March 30, 1934. Similarly, the first line of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4747 may be restored as [θεᾷ]ι Νεμέσει.

<sup>199</sup> For οἴκοθεν, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669, lines 5-6. <sup>200</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2235, line 112, and 2243, line 24.



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 Λ(ούκιος) Λου[κίλιος Πά]γσ[α Πρεῖς]κιλλιανός, governor of Achaia, honored *ca.* A.D. 215-217, 25 3-4.  
 Λυ[---] (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 53.  
 Λύκων (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 55.  
 Λυσανίας Νικοδήμου Ξυπεταίων, honored by statue in first century B.C., 13.  
 Λυσίμαχος Πολυκρίτου ('Αζηνιεύς), secretary of the prytaneis of Hippothontis *ca.* 50-40 B.C., 14 26.  
 Μάκ[ρ]ων (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 69.  
 Μάλγκος (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 73.  
 Κλαύδιος Μάρων ('Αζηνιεύς), see Κλαύδιος Μ.  
 Μελάνθιος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 26.  
 Μελάνωπος (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 65.  
 Μελέαγρος, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 10.  
 Μελησίας (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 61.  
 Μενίτης (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 43.  
 Μένων (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 39.  
 (Λούκιος) Νούμμιος Μῆνι[s] (Φαληρεύς), see (Λ.) Νούμμιος Μ.  
 Μηρόδωρος Ἀρ[*ca.* 14], treasurer of the prytaneis of Akamantis in 53/2 B.C., makes dedication to Zeus Boulaios and Hestia Boulaia, 17 1.  
 [Μ]ητρόβιος Ἀμφίωνος ('Αζηνιεύς), councillor of Hippothontis in A.D. 152/3 or 153/4, 15 19.  
 Αἴλιος Μητρόδωρος ('Αζηνιεύς), see Αἴλιος Μ.  
 Μισγ[ό]λας (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 59.  
 [Μνη]σαρχίδης, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 23.  
 Ἰού(λιος) Μο[ντανός], see Ἰού(λιος) Μ.  
 Ν[---], councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 50-40 B.C., 14 48.  
 Νανσικλῆς (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 68.  
 [Ν]ανσίστρατος (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 5.  
 Νανσίστρατος (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 63.  
 Νανσιχάρης (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 5.  
 Ναύτης (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 28.  
 Ν[ε]οφάνης (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 65.  
 Νικάνωρ ('Αζηνιεύς), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Νικάνωρ, 15 15.  
 Νικάνωρ ('Αζηνιεύς), councillor of Hippothontis in A.D. 152/3 or 153/4, 15 15.  
 [Νι]κηφόρος ('Αζηνιεύς), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of [Νι]κηφόρος, 15 20.  
 [Νι]κηφόρος ('Αζηνιεύς), councillor of Hippothontis in A.D. 152/3 or 153/4, 15 20.  
 Νικόδημος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 77.  
 Νικόδημος (Ξυπεταίων), *ca.* 100 B.C., father of Λυσανίας, 13.  
 [Νικ]όμαχ[ος ---] (Φλυεύς), councillor of Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 24 Fragment B, line 2.  
 Νικόστρατος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 44.  
 [Ν]ικόστρατο[s ---] (Φλυεύς), councillor of Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 24 Fragment B, line 5.

- [Νε]κόστρατ[ος ---] (Φλυεύς), councillor of Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 24 Fragment B, line 6.
- Νίκων 'Α[---], choregus in 436/5 B.C., 1 s.
- Νοήμων, [ξ]ένος killed in 432/1 B.C., p. 27 (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 944, line 7).
- Νόθος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 64.
- (Λούκιος) Νούμμιος Μήνι[ς] (Φαληρεύς), archon eponymous in A.D. 152/3 or 153/4, 15 2-3.
- Νυμφόδοτος ('Αξηνιεύς), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Δημήτριος, 15 11, and of Νυμφόδοτος, 15 12.
- Νυμφόδοτος) ('Αξηνιεύς), councillor of Hippothontis in A.D. 152/3 or 153/4, 15 12.
- Νυμφοκλή[ς] ('Αξηνιεύς), *ca.* 83 B.C., father of Νυμφοκλή[ς], 14 39.
- Νυμφοκλή[ς]) ('Αξηνιεύς), councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 50-40 B.C., 14 39.
- Ξέναρχος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 3.
- Ξενοκλής (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 2.
- 'Ολύμπιχο[ς], Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 7.
- 'Ολυμπος (ἐκ Σκαμβωνιδῶν), makes dedication to Zeus Meilichios *ca.* 330 B.C., 9.
- Παναίτι[ος], rents Athenian sacred property on Euboia *ca.* 424/3 B.C., 6 6.
- Λ(ούκιος) Λου[κίλιος Πά]γσ[α Πρεισ]κυλλανός: see Λ. Λου[κίλιος Π. Π.].
- Παπ[<sup>ca. 4</sup>---]πος (Σ[<sup>ca. 5</sup>---]), *ca.* A.D. 132, father of Παπ[<sup>ca. 4</sup>---]πος, 23 6.
- Παπ[<sup>ca. 4</sup>---]πος) Σ[---], *περὶ τὸ βῆμα* in A.D. 165/6 (?), 23 6.
- Π[αράμ]ο[νος] ('Επεικίδης), *ca.* A.D. 132, father of Εὐχάριστος, 23 8.
- Πεισίλοχος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 25.
- Πιστόξενος (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 46.
- Πίτταλος, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 14.
- Πολυ[---] (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 55.
- Πολύκριτος ('Αξηνιεύς), *ca.* 83 B.C., father of Λυσίμαχος, 14 26, and of Φιλόστρατος, 14 33.
- [Π]όλων (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 8.
- Ποταμοκλῆς (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 68.
- [Π]ρα[ξ]ικλέης Σωφόρτου (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., p. 88 (see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, line 11).
- Πραξιτέλης, sculptor in first century B.C., 13.
- Λ(ούκιος) Λου[κίλιος Πά]γσ[α Πρεισ]κυλλανός: see Λ. Λου[κίλιος Π. Π.].
- Προκλ[---] (?), councillor of Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 24 Fragment A, line 2.
- Προσδό[κιμος ---], councillor of Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 24 Fragment A, line 4.
- Πρωτογένης ('Αξηνιεύς), *ca.* 83 B.C., father of 'Αριστόνικος, 14 32.
- Πυθογένης, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 18.
- Πυθόκριτος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 49.
- Πύρης (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 39.
- [Ἀππία Ἀννία Ῥή]γιλλ[α Ἀτι]λία [Κανκιδία Τερ-τύλλα], wife of Herodes Attikos, honored by statue shortly after her death A.D. 160/1, 22 1-2.
- Σα[---], Athenian killed in 432/1 B.C., 5 8.
- Σαν[---] (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 54.
- Σατυρ[---] (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 40.
- Φλ(άουιος) Σο[υλπι]κιανός Δωρ[ίω]ν: see Φλ(άουιος) Σ. Δ.
- [Σοφο]κλῆς (Σοφίλλου Κολωνήθεν), tragic poet victorious in 448/7 B.C., 1 3.
- [Στά(τιος)] Χρυσό[γονος] (Φλυεύς), councillor of Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 24 Fragment B, line 3.
- Στησίας (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 47.



- Στίβων (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 36.
- Στόμης (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 41.
- Συμφέρων (Ἀζηνιεύς), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Συμφέρων, 15 13.
- Συμφέρων (Ἀζηνιεύς), councillor of Hippothontis in A.D. 152/3 or 153/4, 15 13.
- Συρότ[---], [ξένος killed in 432/1 B.C., p. 27 (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 944, line 8).
- Σω[---] Κ[υ]δαν[τίδης], secretary of the prytaneis of Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 24 Fragment A, lines 7-8.
- [Σ]ώστρατος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 14.
- Σώστρατος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 72.
- Σφ[τ]ήριχος (ἐξ Οἴου), *ca.* A.D. 207, father of [Αύ]ρ(ήλιος) Ἀδρ[ι]ανός, 26.
- Σώφορτος (Εὐωνυμείς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [Π]ρα[ξ]ικλέης, p. 88 (see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, line 11).
- [Ἀππία Ἀννία Ῥή]γυλλ[α Ἀτι]λία [Κανκιδία Τερτύλλα], see [Ἀ. Ἀ. Ῥή]γυλλ[α Ἀ. Κ. Τ.].
- Τηλοκλῆς (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 71.
- Τιμ[---], councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 50-40 B.C., 14 45.
- Τιμογεί[των] (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 57.
- Τιμωνίδης (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 37.
- Τρο[φίμ]---, erects statue *ca.* A.D. 60, 18 19.
- Τρύφων (Ἀζηνιεύς), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of [Δη]-μήτριος, 15 21.
- [Τ]ρύφων Θεο[---] (Φλυνεύς), councillor of Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 24 Fragment B, line 4.
- Υ[---], councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 50-40 B.C., 14 52.
- Φ[---], councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 50-40 B.C., 14 47.
- Φαίδων (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 45.
- Φανόστρατος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 6.
- Φειδέστρατος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 9.
- Φείδων (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 76.
- Φιλ[---] (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 41.
- Φιλακ[ώ (?)], makes dedication to Zeus Meilichios in third century B.C., 10.
- Φιλίνος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 12.
- Φίλιππος (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 23.
- Φιλίων, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 15.
- Φιλοκλῆς (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 63.
- Φιλόστρατος Πολυκρίτου (Ἀζηνιεύς), councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 50-40 B.C., 14 33.
- Φίλων, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 22.
- Φλ(άουιος) Σφ[υλπι]κιανός Δωρ[ίω]ν, archon of the Panhellenes shortly after A.D. 160/1, 22 6.
- Φορμίσιος, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 20.
- [Φρύνι]χος, archon eponymous in 337/6 B.C., 12 5.
- [Φ]ύρκων (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 9.
- Χα[---], Athenian killed in 432/1 B.C., 5 7.
- Χαιρεφάνης, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 16.
- Χαιρίων, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 6.
- Χάρης (Λεωντίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 74.
- Χαρικλῆς (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 2.
- [Χ]αρμίδης (Πανδιονίδος), killed in the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment K, line 10.
- [Στά(τιος)] Χρυσό[γονος] (Φλυνεύς): see (Στά(τιος)] X.

- [.] $\epsilon\alpha$ [ $\frac{ca. 3}{-}$ ]ης, *ca.* A.D. 132 A.D., father of  
[.] $\epsilon\alpha$ [ $\frac{ca. 3}{-}$ ]ης, 23 2.  
[.] $\epsilon\alpha$ [ $\frac{ca. 3}{-}$ ]ης), secretary of the council and  
demos in A.D. 165/6 (?), 23 2.  
[.] $\lambda$ [---] ( $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ), killed in the Sicilian  
Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment L, line 27.  
[.] $\omega$ [ $\nu$   $\Lambda\alpha\mu\pi\tau\rho$  ( $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ), choregus in 448/7 B.C., 1 2.  
[.] $\lambda$ [ $\sigma\omicron$ ---], Athenian killed in the Sicilian  
Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 4.  
[.] $\pi$ [ $\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ ], Athenian killed in the Sicilian  
Expedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 24.  
[.] $\eta\varsigma$ , Athenian killed in 432/1 B.C., p. 27  
(*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 944, line 2).  
[.] $\sigma$ [ $\varsigma$ ], Athenian killed in 432/1 B.C.,  
p. 27 (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 944, line 1).  
[ $\frac{ca. 3}{-}$   $\delta$ ]ωρο[ $\varsigma$  ---] ( $\Phi\lambda\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ), councillor of  
Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 24 Fragment B,  
line 1.  
[ $\frac{ca. 5}{-}$ ]μος, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Ex-  
pedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment J, line 5.  
[ $\frac{ca. 5}{-}$ ]ος, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Ex-  
pedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment J, line 7.  
[ $\frac{ca. 5}{-}$ ]πος, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Ex-  
pedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment J, line 6.  
[ $\frac{ca. 5}{-}$ ]ς, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedi-  
tion in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment J, line 3.  
[ $\frac{ca. 5}{-}$ ]χος, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Ex-  
pedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment J, line 4.  
[ $\frac{ca. 6}{-}$ ]ιος, makes dedication to Zeus Meilichios  
in fourth century B.C., 11.  
[ $\frac{ca. 6}{-}$ ]ος, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Ex-  
pedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment J, line 8.  
[ $\frac{ca. 6}{-}$ ]ος, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Ex-  
pedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment J, line 10.  
[.] $\Delta$ [ $\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ], flute-player in 337/6 B.C.,  
12 4.  
[ $\frac{ca. 8}{-}$ ]δης, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Ex-  
pedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 2.  
[ $\frac{ca. 8}{-}$ ]ελης, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Ex-  
pedition in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 1.  
[ $\frac{ca. 10}{-}$ ]ς, Athenian killed in the Sicilian Expedi-  
tion in 413 B.C., 8 Fragment I, line 3.  
[.] $\kappa\lambda$ [ $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  [ $\ast\Omega\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu$ ], choregus in  
337/6 B.C., 12 2.  
[---]  $\kappa\lambda$ ]ης ( $\ast\Omega\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu$ ), *ca.* 370 B.C., father of  
[---], 12 2.  
[---]  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$   $\ast\Lambda\zeta\eta\nu\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , eponymous of Hippo-  
thontis in A.D. 152/3 or 153/4, 15 7.  
[---]  $\Xi\nu\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ [ $\acute{\omega}\nu$ ], hieropoios in Eleusis *ca.*  
424 B.C., 7 5-6.  
[---]  $\nu\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\ast\text{Ἐλευσί}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ), *ca.* 457 B.C., father  
of [---], 7 1-2.







## ANCIENT METAL RELIEFS

Recent publications of material from American excavations and American museums have focused attention on the techniques of metal relief in antiquity. Especially provocative have been the discovery by Miss Richter and Miss Milne, *à propos* of a new hammered silver phiale, that the repoussé technique was invented by Pheidias and Polykleitos in the fifth century B.C. (all previous metal reliefs having been hammered into matrices<sup>1</sup>) and the identification of a class of clay impressions from metal reliefs by Mrs. Thompson, following the excavation of many such impressions in Athens.<sup>2</sup> The present paper is an attempt to see these pieces in relation to some others from Greece, northern and southern Italy, and the provinces, and to suggest some tests for recognizing the various types of reliefs, some observations regarding their prevalence, and the technique of their commercial duplication. My observations, be it said, are those of an archaeologist, not of a metallurgist, and are offered in the hope of saving the time of another archaeologist.<sup>3</sup>

The methods of raising a pattern or picture in relief on a metal background are: cold tooling, hammering into a matrix, repoussé or hammering free-hand, and casting. These processes are not mutually exclusive. Almost any combination of them is possible. Cold tooling is almost always combined with another technique. Even among the other three techniques combinations are frequent and have done much to baffle our efforts to recognize the ancient methods. Similarly, almost every fine modern piece is made by a combination of techniques. The beautiful situla from Tarentum, in Boston (Figs. 1, 2), illustrates this combination.<sup>4</sup> The main frieze is a fine example of repoussé. The handle attachments were cast and were joined to the rim by skillful sweating. Between the frieze and the rim is a decorative border of leaves which, unlike the main frieze, does not appear in negative on the back. This was made by a third technique, difficult to identify. Was it cold tooling?

Relief can be raised by cold tooling by cutting away the background as one would chip marble to make a marble relief. This is laborious. Examples of work done exclusively by cold tooling are rare, but as a supplementary technique on hammered, repoussé, or cast reliefs it is fairly common. Cold tooling can usually be recognized

<sup>1</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 363-398.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 285-316.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Samuel Kirk and Son and to members of their staff for criticism of the pieces here presented and for the opportunity to observe modern silver repoussé in their factory.

<sup>4</sup> No. 03.1001. Pernice, *Gefässe und Geräte aus Bronze* (Winter, *Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji*, IV), pl. V; *Jahrbuch*, XXXV, 1920, p. 91, fig. 6. On the piecing of the Boscoreale cups see Matz, in Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, IV, p. 258.

by the broad flat planes with sharply intersecting edges characteristic of chisel work, and the narrow incised line made by the point. Cold tooling is very apparent on most modern repoussé reliefs, the details of which are in large part cut from the front by metal tools.

A technique which may have been fairly common was that of hammering the metal by repeated blows of a small hammer into all the crevices of a matrix cut with the design in reverse. Strangely, very few of the ancient matrices can be recognized. A few of stone and of bronze still survive.<sup>5</sup> Others might have been of perishable material.<sup>6</sup> The matrix which Miss Richter deduced for the silver bowl in New York seems to have been of iron, and very well cut.<sup>7</sup> Miss Richter recognized the technique in this case because of double lines at various points, evidence of double hammering of the bowl. Another test for recognizing such a relief is that it may not be undercut.

A further test is that the design be repeated, for the matrix technique is the nearest which the ancients had to our modern technique of pressure stamping between positive and negative dies. Like that process, it naturally suggests duplication. It was known from very early times. Hammered bronze was a distinctive craft of the Villanovans of Italy (in contrast to the Etruscans, who were casters),<sup>8</sup> and crude designs such as concentric circles decorate the water vessels of this early people. The designs were repetitive, and probably were made in matrices. In Greece, low relief, already practiced by the Mycenaeans, was known again in the late geometric age, and exemplified a little later on the bronze reliefs from the Athenian Acropolis; even if we hesitate to commit ourselves as to the technique of the figures on these we can have no doubts about the decorative elements, palmettes and rosettes, repeated again and again, certainly made in matrices.<sup>9</sup> The "Argive" (really Corinthian) mirror handles of early times were made in matrices, the easy repetition serving to enrich their makers.<sup>10</sup> Coming down to later times, we may note two classes of Etruscan bronzes which were made by this means. First, consider a well-known group of Etruscan

<sup>5</sup> Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie*, IV (1887), pp. 237 ff.; Curtius et al., *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, IV, pl. 26 a; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 222; *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1904, p. 440; Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 219-222, and *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, 1936, pp. 306-313. There is a bronze with six archaistic designs and figures in the Walters Art Gallery. It may be a matrix.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the reliefs which were to cover such early wood objects as the chariot in the Metropolitan Museum and the plates which dressed the wood cores of the earliest statues were hammered over their own permanent wood backings. See Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder*, II, figs. 74, 77; Ducati, *Storia dell' Arte Etrusca*, II, pl. 65, fig. 200, and Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum*, pp. 59 f., no. 434.

<sup>7</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 376.

<sup>8</sup> Randall-MacIver, *Atti del I Congresso internazionale Etrusco*, p. 51; *Bul. Pal. It.*, XXXVI, 1910, pp. 100 f.; Åberg, *Bronzezeitliche und früheisenzeitliche Chronologie*, I, p. 76; Matz, in Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, I, p. 194.

<sup>9</sup> Bather, *J.H.S.*, XIII, 1892-3, pp. 232 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 65 f.



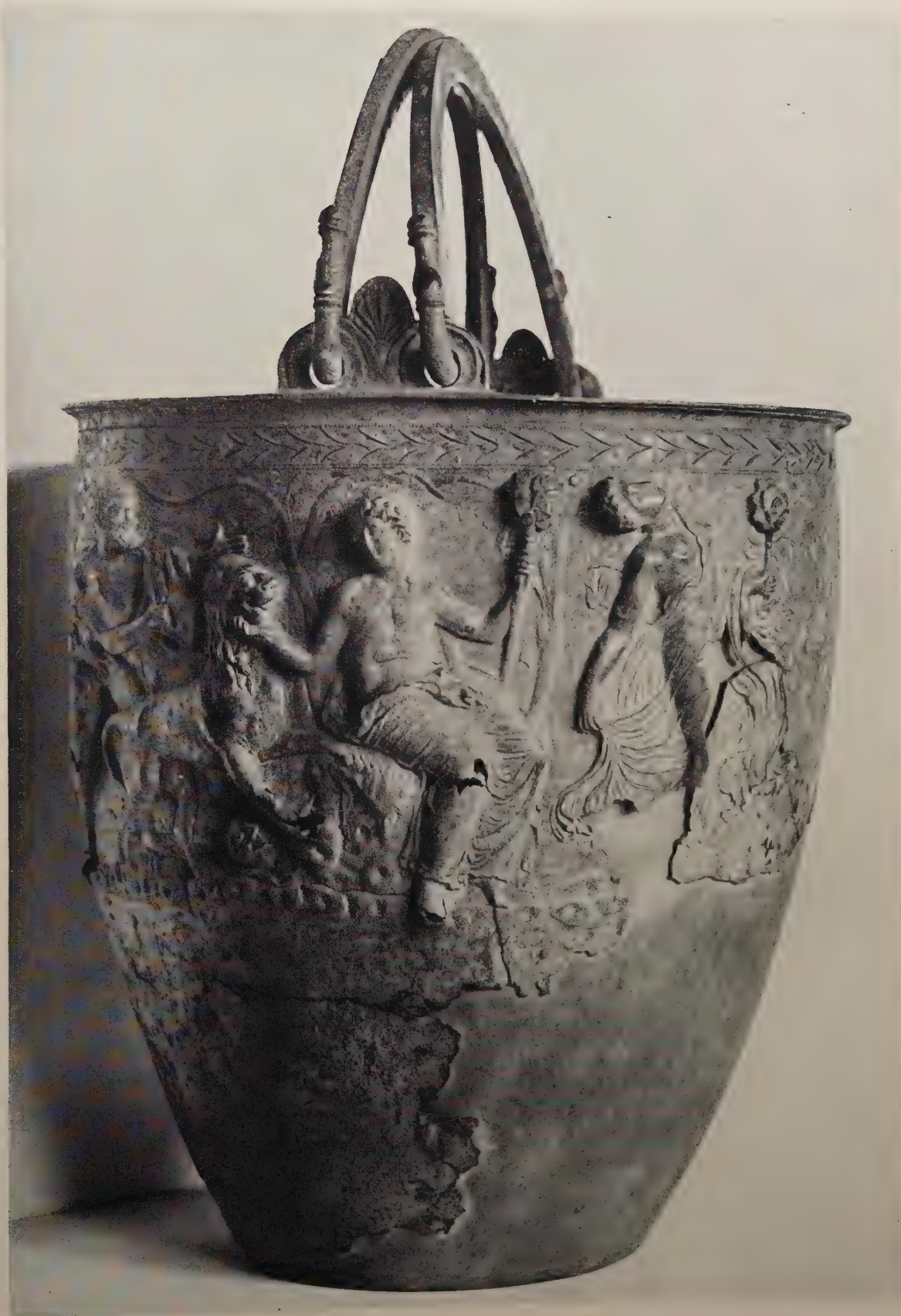


Fig. 1. Bronze Situla. Repoussé Decoration. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

stamnoi, whose handles are always attached by plaques bearing certain standard designs.<sup>11</sup> Our Figure 3 shows a pair of handles from such a stamnos. The four plaques are of thin metal with silenes' faces in relief. The reliefs are identical. Moreover, there are any number of similar stamnoi handle plaques. These four reliefs lack the sharpness of detail which we associate with repoussé. It seems most probable that they were all hammered into the same matrix, and that the matrix was used again and again in the production of this highly commercialized ware. Another class is the Etruscan mirror covers decorated with relief. For example, at least three mirror covers with identical subject (a seated woman, a child, a youth and a bird) are known: one in the University Museum, Philadelphia, one in the Terme, and another in the Villa Giulia.<sup>12</sup> It would be rash to insist without very careful examination of all three pieces that they were made in the same matrix; but there is a good probability. Another example of repetition on reliefs of this type is furnished by two with Thetis bringing arms to Achilles. Their main designs are identical but the borders are different: one, a herring-bone pattern,<sup>13</sup> hammered into a matrix, the other, an egg and dart, incised.<sup>14</sup> A third subject of the mirrors is Dionysos and Apollo;<sup>15</sup> a fourth is a group of a man, a woman and a dog.<sup>16</sup>

We may class as hammered-into-matrix reliefs all those whose designs can be shown to have been frequently repeated. It is not surprising that our examples from the later period are Etruscan. Naturally, after the discovery of repoussé, hammering into a matrix was uncommon among Greek workmen, for the new technique was superior.

The repoussé technique was invented by the Greeks of the great age, and, essentially unchanged, is still in use. Without any matrix, the sheet of metal, bedded in something soft like pitch, is hammered bit by bit into the desired relief. First one side is so treated; then the sheet is reversed and the other hammered. With this technique the Greeks surpassed themselves. They made what we think Greeks should have made—works of complete originality, each individual, each exquisite. Only a real artist can make repoussé reliefs, and only a Greek artist ever enjoyed making almost impossibly high reliefs. His relief usually was decidedly undercut, and his fabric very thin. Many reliefs still are filled with a clay-like material which was added

<sup>11</sup> Riis, *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, II, 1938, p. 167, note 1; Jacobsthal and Langsdorff, *Die Bronzeschnabelkannen*, p. 48, note 1; Marconi, *Dedalo*, XIII, 1933, pp. 274 f.; Neugebauer, *Bronzegerät des Altertums* (Schaal, *Bilderhefte zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte*, II), pl. XXII, 1. Also Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, p. 126, nos. 249, 250 (our Figs. 4a and 4b) and p. 32, nos. 50, 51 (both sets now in the Etruscan room); and Worcester Art Museum, Schaefer Collection, no. 1434, a and b (our Fig. 3).

<sup>12</sup> University Museum, no. M. S. 1665. Villa Giulia, no. 51391, formerly Castellani Collection.

<sup>13</sup> From Toscanella. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes*, p. 125, no. 728.

<sup>14</sup> From Praeneste. *Monumenti dell'Istituto*, XI, pl. VIII, 2.

<sup>15</sup> Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, I, pl. XXI, 2. Also, Villa Giulia, no. 51392.

<sup>16</sup> Villa Giulia, nos. 17028 and 51390.





Fig. 2. Back of Part of Figure 1



Fig. 3. Handles of Etruscan Stamnos, with Hammered Plaques. Worcester Art Museum



for strengthening. Because of the thinness of the fabric, the design is perfect in reverse on the back.

One of the most interesting repoussés is an unfinished piece in the Metropolitan Museum (Figs. 5, 6).<sup>17</sup> A young athlete is clearly defined and well modeled as far as torso, head (nearly in the round) and thighs, but he lacks arms. For some reason, perhaps the tearing of the sheet across the thighs, the artist ceased work. His next task would have been to raise the arms on what is now blank background. Significantly, the figure is in the proportion and style of Polykleitos, one of the "inventors" of repoussé, and I see no reason to doubt that it is contemporary with him.

Probably very early in the history of repoussé were produced the two reliefs which were found at Olynthos.<sup>18</sup> These pose certain problems. The relief is not as high as in most repoussé, and the drapery is not as sharp as one would expect from that technique. The hard outlines of the figures are unusual in repoussé (but equally unusual in hammered work). It is possible that these reliefs were hammered in matrices, but I am inclined to think that they represent an early and rather timid attempt at repoussé, and that they were made a considerable time before the close of the fifth century.

More brilliant and daring repoussé reliefs were made at the very end of the fifth century: the Siris bronzes, now in the British Museum, the reliefs found at Praeneste in the Villa Giulia (Fig. 13), some of the Vounitza mirrors in the Metropolitan, and a relief from Paramythia in the British Museum. In these the relief is not only higher but also freer. The artists were becoming progressively more at ease with the new technique.

A relief of remarkably fine design, as well as of good craftsmanship, is on the cover of a mirror in Baltimore, which may date from as early as the end of the fifth century B.C. (Figs. 7, 8).<sup>19</sup> It has become detached, so that its back may be studied. All the details of the drapery and of the goose and wreath can be followed on the back, except the smallest lines of the wings, which were incised. The head is in three-quarter view, with very slight undercutting of the nose and clever foreshortening of the cheeks.

Typical repoussés decorate the cover of a fourth-century Greek mirror in Baltimore (Fig. 9).<sup>20</sup> Figures of a woman and of a man in Asiatic dress, each on a rocky seat, were made separately, and set to face one another, representing Aphrodite and Paris, or Aphrodite and Adonis, or Dionysos and Ariadne.<sup>21</sup> The thin bronze is worn

<sup>17</sup> Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 138 f., no. 280. It was considered Roman, and to have had legs and arms made separately.

<sup>18</sup> Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 72, fig. 20; *Excavations at Olynthus*, X, pl. IV.

<sup>19</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1160. Purchased, 1929. Said to be from Greece. Diameter, 6 inches (.152 m.).

<sup>20</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1170. Diameter, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches (.162 m.). Repaired.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Walters, *Select Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan* (British Museum), pl. XXVII; Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 265 f., no. 766. The compositions of these are totally distinct.



*a*



*b*

Fig. 4. Handles of Etruscan Stamnos with Cast Plaques. New York, Metropolitan Museum



Fig. 5. Unfinished Greek Repoussé Relief.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum



Fig. 6. Back of Figure 5





Fig. 7. Greek Mirror Cover with Repoussé Relief. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery





Fig. 8. Back of Relief of Mirror Shown in Figure 7. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

through at a few points, such as the leg of the man and the lap of the woman, showing a clay backing. The heads are in side view and not quite complete, being slightly undercut.

A much more daring conception is that of another mirror, also in Baltimore



Fig. 9. Greek Mirror Cover with Repoussé Reliefs.  
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

(Fig. 10).<sup>22</sup> A heavy, bearded man and a woman face each other across a tree, at the foot of which stands Eros. Apparently Herakles is interviewing a Hesperid before the tree of the golden apples. Missing from the relief but leaving recognizable traces on the background are the right leg of Herakles, his left arm, staff, and the drapery which hung at his left, and the right arm of the Hesperid. These parts served as

<sup>22</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.743. Acquired, 1926. Diameter,  $7\frac{11}{16}$  inches (.194 m.). Damaged. Repaired.



transitions from the highest parts of the relief to the background; their absence reveals a clay-like backing. The bodies are nearly in the round. Though the bronze no longer remains on the backs of the heads, it is clear that they were in the round and made by repoussé, a clever artist working with his tool from inside and from outside the heads. The flowing drapery could have been made only in this way, too. On the theory that the "Farnese" type of Herakles which this mirror copies originated with Lysippos and in view of the technical superiority of this relief over the last we may date it within the Hellenistic period.

Let us look once more at the Boston situla, the main feature of which is repoussé (Figs. 1, 2). The scene is very clear on the inside (Fig. 2, reproducing in reverse a part of Fig. 1). The detail of the drapery across the knees of the seated figure is remarkably clear, the details of the heads are clear (much clearer than one might believe from the photograph where one can discern merely the nose, mouth, and chin of the seated figure), and the heads are undercut. Details which are missing from the back—the tree, the lion's mane, the ground, etc.—were added by cold tooling.

The repoussé technique was in vogue from the end of the fifth century through the fourth and at least into the third. Then it was gradually replaced by hollow cast relief. Cast relief in Greece and Italy is just as old as casting. This is not as old as hammering. Although the Mycenaeans and the Terremare peoples had cast bronze, the technique became unusual in Greece of the geometric age and in Italy of the Villanovans. Good casting began again with the dawn of the archaic age. Low relief was introduced almost immediately. During the Hellenistic age there was developed a technique of making very thin, hollow, cast imitations of repoussé, especially of very high repoussé. We do not know how generally the cast pieces replaced the others, but we note the scarcity of repoussé after the third century B.C. One is tempted to attribute the new technique of hollow cast relief to some Alexandrian craftsman. As examples of high cast relief we may cite the Hildesheim treasure, formerly thought to be repoussé,<sup>23</sup> and of low relief, cast I think, the delicate silver cups of the Augustan era in the Morgan Collection.<sup>24</sup> High relief, cast or repoussé, went out of fashion early in the Roman Empire to be replaced by cast low relief, solid.<sup>25</sup>

A little ancient casting was in moulds. We know of a few moulds for direct

<sup>23</sup> Ippel, *Guss und Treibarbeit in Silber (97 Winckelmannsprogramm)*, Berlin, 1937, pp. 16 f.; Rodenwaldt, *Antike*, XIII, 1937, p. 185. Bronze example from Lake Bracciano, Walters, *Select Bronzes*, pl. XXXII (our Fig. 12); *Catalogue of Bronzes*, p. 40, no. 286, pl. VIII; Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 175 f., pl. LXIV, b. The fragmentary silver kantharos found in Egypt, *Arch. Anz.*, 1907, cols. 362 f., figs. 3, 4, now in the Walters Art Gallery, is an example of very high cast relief, solid, made in the Hellenistic period.

<sup>24</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Augustan Art*, 1939, p. 18, fig. 42.

<sup>25</sup> A relief, apparently repoussé, in the Loeb Collection is called Roman by Sieveking, *Bronzen, Terrakotten, Vasen der Sammlung Loeb*, Munich, 1930, pp. 5 f., pl. 6. But is it certain that this is Roman? And is it certain that the Boscoreale treasure is all repoussé?





Fig. 10. Greek Mirror Cover with Repoussé Reliefs. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

casting of Graeco-Roman saucepans,<sup>26</sup> and await the publication of more material from a Roman shop in Athens.<sup>27</sup> Most of the casting was by the *cire-perdue* process. In this process a wax model is constructed and incased in a fireproof coating. Two holes are left in the case. It is then heated, so that the wax melts and runs out. Molten bronze is poured into one of the holes, filling the casing which formerly covered the wax, and solidifying as an exact bronze duplicate of the original wax model. If a hollow cast is desired, the wax model is made over a slightly smaller core, which remains when the wax melts out.

Although the wax model is always destroyed in casting metal, there are two ways by which the design may be repeated. If the wax model has been made in a mould, another wax model and a consequent other bronze can be made in the same way; or, from the finished bronze, an impression may be taken, in which it is possible to mould the wax model for the next bronze. Both methods were used by the ancients to duplicate the designs on their utilitarian bronzes.

Following the first method, the same kind of stone matrix which was used for making hammered bronzes could be used for moulding wax models for cast bronzes. Immediately after the development of casting, griffin heads for decorating cauldrons were cast with details in low relief.<sup>28</sup> There are many alike of these decorations. It is unlikely that the workmen modeled all the wax models freehand. It was demonstrated by Pernice that the majority of all ancient cast attachments with low reliefs were made by the *cire-perdue* process, each wax model receiving the relief from a mould. Although the earliest examples of the use of such a mould which Pernice found were some feet of Praenestine cists from the fourth century B.C.,<sup>29</sup> it is possible that they were used from the very beginning of casting, even from the days of the griffins.

The very mould which was used to impress the relief on the wax model for a cast object could also be a matrix. In at least one class of commercial wares we have the same type of attachment, cast and hammered, at the same time. Let us look once more at the handles of Etruscan *stamnoi* of the fourth century B.C., having handle-plaques, four plaques to each *stamnos*, decorated with a few standard designs, the commonest being the *silene's* head. Compare the cast example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 4 *a* and *b*) with the hammered example in the Worcester Art Museum (Fig. 3).<sup>30</sup> These two sets were not made in the same matrix. One would have to study all the examples of this very large ware to ascertain which cast and which hammered pieces used the same matrices. But can we believe that the workmen who made quantities

<sup>26</sup> Schreiber, *Alexandrinische Toreutik* (*Abhandlungen, K. Sächs. Gesell. Wiss., Phil-Hist. Klasse, XIV*), 1894, pls. I-III.

<sup>27</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 123.

<sup>28</sup> *Jahrbuch*, LIII, 1938, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Jahreshefte*, VII, 1904, pp. 154-197.

<sup>30</sup> See above, p. 100, note 11.



of these plaques, all alike, were so incredibly stupid as to keep one series of matrices on one side of the room for hammering, another just like it on the other side of the room for moulding wax models for casting? Must we deny them common sense?<sup>31</sup>

Of the equipment needed for duplicating bronzes by the second method we have actual examples preserved. From Egypt of the Graeco-Roman period come numerous plaster moulds for making wax models. Each mould is in parts, which join perfectly.<sup>32</sup> Slightly different are the clay impressions, found at Athens, Corinth, and Tarentum (Fig. 11).<sup>33</sup> They are impressions of reliefs, and only of parts of reliefs, their edges being irregular. That these were taken from metal objects has been established by Mrs. Thompson, though none of the actual metal originals exists. It is equally probable that many of the objects made from them were of cast metal.

But first let us consider the vexed question of the use of part of the group, positive clay copies of relief.<sup>34</sup> A close parallel for these exists in the stamps for making Arretine pottery. At least one of the positive impressions from Athens has a back shaped into a handle,<sup>35</sup> as have all the impressions for Arretine ware. There is abundant material to show how the positive impressions were used at Arretium.<sup>36</sup> A series of them was selected and pressed into the inside of a clay bowl, still soft.

<sup>31</sup> Ippel (in Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, IV, p. 216, and p. 221, fig. 1) deduced that there must have been cast reproductions of Hellenistic architectural reliefs of hammered bronze. How would there have been enough reliefs to decorate houses if they were not made by quick cast reproduction?

<sup>32</sup> Edgar, *Greek Moulds* (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*) pp. III ff. See also my article, "Some Bronze Statuettes from Graeco-Roman Egypt," to be published in *Art in America*.

<sup>33</sup> H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 175; D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 285-316; Weinberg, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 593, fig. 5; *B. Met. Mus.*, VII, 1912, p. 97, fig. 6 (our Fig. 11); Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 256, note 28; *Jahrbuch*, XLI, 1926, pp. 191 ff., and Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, IV, pl. XI, fig. 1. Cf. one of a group of Persian impressions on clay, *B. Met. Mus.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 108, fig. 32. Another piece of the same class was found at Vulci and has been called a stone matrix, *Studi Etruschi*, X, 1936, pl. XV; XI, 1937, p. 108, fig. 1; *Historia*, IV, 1930, pp. 454-469. It belongs to the sixth century B.C. Without having studied the material, I hazard the guess that this is another clay impression from metal. The corners are incomplete, as would be unthinkable in a sculptured matrix, but usual in a clay impression. The depressions near the corners are not to collect molten metal, but are the marks of the nails which attached the original to a wood background. It is uncertain what this original was. Perhaps it was a chariot fixture, like the chariot fixtures recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, some of which have decorative figures of style not altogether different from the Vulci impression, *B. Met. Mus.*, XXIV, 1936, pp. 41 ff.; *Studi Etruschi*, XIII, 1930, pp. 433 ff.

<sup>34</sup> There are also plaster and bronze positives, Ippel, in Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, IV, pp. 223 ff., figs. on pp. 226 ff.; Ippel, *Der Bronzefund von Galjûb* (Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim, *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung*, 2). The models from Galjûb give evidence of having been made up from parts cast in moulds. See also Rubensohn, *Arch. Anz.*, 1907, cols. 359 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 175, fig. 21, b.

<sup>36</sup> Very clear explanation and illustrations, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Augustan Art*, pp. 19 f., figs. 43-45.



This clay bowl, dried and baked, then became the mould in which other clay bowls were shaped with the design in relief on the outside. A positive impression is evidence of a most advanced and complicated commercialization, for it was used for the quantitative production of moulds, in which the final objects were made, a quantity in each mould. The positive impression could, of course, also be used for copying by eye.



Fig. 11. Clay Impression from a Metal Relief, and Plaster Cast Made in the Impression.  
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Every process known for making clay reproductions could also be used for making cast metal reproductions of repoussé metal objects. But instead of clay, wax was used in the second stage to make a model for the casting of another metal object. A workman took a clay impression of a fine repoussé object. He then took a piece of wax and shaped it into another object, using the clay impression as a mould with which to raise the relief design. The new object might or might not be of the same shape. A jug could reproduce the design of a mirror, and *vice versa*. He then cast a bronze or silver object after the wax by *cire-perdue*. If he wished to reproduce the relief in



Fig. 12. Hollow Cast Relief (after Walters).  
London, British Museum



great quantity, he turned his impression into a positive,<sup>37</sup> fitted it with a handle, and used it to stamp the inside of many moulds. In the moulds he made many wax objects and used each as a model for casting.<sup>38</sup>

Clay impressions, then, were taken from repoussé reliefs and could be used, both the positive and the negative, to make reproductions either in cast metal or in clay. I believe that we may assume a continuous tradition of their use by casters from the fifth century to the end of the reign of Augustus, although some of the material is scant for each period and for each technique. From the great age we have many repoussé reliefs, many clay impressions, and some relief pottery. We do not have many fine cast reliefs from this period, but are tempted to imagine them, because some of the Athens impressions seem to be from armor. Why not cast imitations for more armor? From the Hellenistic age we have hollow cast relief, a few pieces of repoussé, no clay impressions, and more of the relief ware. We may imagine the missing Hellenistic clay impressions, because from the Augustan age we find hollow cast relief on objects actually made in sets and inscribed as such,<sup>39</sup> positive and negative impressions on clay, and the Arretine pottery which so clearly imitates metal work. From this later age I know of no repoussé. Were the Roman workmen copying old repoussé?<sup>40</sup> Or will we eventually identify the missing pieces?



Fig. 13. Repoussé Relief (after *Bolletino d'Arte*).  
Rome, Villa Giulia

<sup>37</sup> This could be done by pressing new clay against an impression which had itself been made by pressing against a finished metal object. It also could be done by pressing against the *inside* of a repoussé.

<sup>38</sup> Since the impressions were incomplete, retouching the wax by hand was necessary.

<sup>39</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Augustan Art*, p. 18.

<sup>40</sup> Miss Richter, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 385 ff., believes that such a method was used for making the clay Calene bowls after an earlier silver prototype which had been made by hammering into a matrix. The normal method of making a clay copy of a contemporary hammered piece would be to mould the clay in the actual matrix, in accordance with the first method described above.



If only there were one complete series: repoussé relief, impression, fragments from the casing of the *cire-perdue*, and cast relief! There is no such extant series to be proof of my contention. Some idea of the imagined process and its results may, however, be gained by comparison of some works centering at the school of Tarentum. The seated male figure on the repoussé situla is from Tarentum (Fig. 1), and the Herakles from Praeneste might conceivably be Tarentine (Fig. 13).<sup>41</sup> The detached relief of a similar figure found at Lake Bracciano and of workshop unknown was cast (Fig. 12). The clay impression of part of another figure was taken from a repoussé and was found at Tarentum (Fig. 11). These reliefs are not identical. They were not made one from the other. In fact, the figure from which the impression was made faced in the opposite direction from the others. Yet they are so much alike that they illustrate how repoussé work would have been copied by casting.

In summary we may say that hammered relief was used throughout antiquity in Greece and Italy, but became uncommon during the great age in Greece; that repoussé was discovered in the second half of the fifth century and remained in common use at least until the third; that cast low relief was used at all times, but that hollow cast relief, low and high, was used only in Hellenistic and early Roman times. Cast reliefs were made in imitation of hammered reliefs with the aid of matrices which were also moulds, and from repoussé reliefs with the aid of clay impressions. There is reason to believe that such commercial duplication of utilitarian metalwork was general throughout antiquity.

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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

<sup>41</sup> Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, p. 451, no. 13221, pl. LIX; *Boll. d'Arte*, III, 1909, p. 196, pl. II (attributed to a school in Asia Minor); Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

## CYRIACUS OF ANCONA, ARISTOTLE, AND TEIRESIAS IN SAMOTHRACE

The visit paid to the island of Samothrace by Cyriacus of Ancona in October, 1444,<sup>1</sup> interrupts fifteen-hundred years of almost complete oblivion from the end of the Roman Empire to the early nineteenth century. In view of the great reputation of the island and its mysterious religion in the classical age and the renewal of this reputation occasioned by studies in ancient religion and art since the Romantic period, this visit, its report in Cyriacus' letters, the copies of inscriptions and the drawings of monuments which he made on the island are an even more spectacular document of early Renaissance antiquarianism than are his records of most of the other sites which he visited.

The state of oblivion into which the great tradition of the past had fallen manifests itself in the very attitude of Cyriacus. To him, the island was one more place in which antiquities of the classical age were preserved. In his short report,<sup>2</sup> no mention is made of the famous cult of the Samothracian Gods. On the contrary, alluding to Homer,<sup>3</sup> he labelled the ruins of the sanctuary a "temple of Neptune." He was looking for documents of antique life and culture in general and he related his finds to the ideas and interests of his age concerning the antique world. This is shown by the fact that he added inscriptions interpreting the monuments in his own way.

We have a clear case of this attitude in his drawings of an archaistic frieze which is now in the Louvre.<sup>4</sup> These drawings, like all his sketches of Samothracian

NOTE. This study is, largely, the result of co-operative research by the staff of the Archaeological Research Fund of New York University which, in 1938 and 1939, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, began systematic excavations in Samothrace. Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. Holsten, Mr. Stuart Shaw, and Miss Phyllis L. Williams have made valuable contributions. The drawings which are reproduced in Plates V c and X a were made by Mr. Shaw. For assistance and information generously provided, I am also obliged to: Professor Bernard Ashmole of the British Museum; Dr. Louisa Banti of the Vatican Library; The Prefect of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan; Professor E. Panofsky of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton; Director L. Pastorella of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin; Professor F. Saxl of the Warburg Institute in London.

<sup>1</sup> E. Ziebarth, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, pp. 405 f.

<sup>2</sup> O. Kern, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 360, note 1; Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, XIII, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf, *Neue archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, 1880, pl. 11, pp. 13 f., 33; E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, 1922, pp. 39 f., pl. 17, fig. 1; F. Saxl, *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, IV, 1940/1, pp. 34 f., 44, pl. 7 b = our Plate II b. Ch. Picard, *La Sculpture*, vol. 1 (*Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, Paris, 1935), p. 393, note 6, still adheres to the very improbable, and rightly abandoned theory that this frieze belonged, as an architectural frieze, to the renewed "Old Temple."

monuments, are known only in Renaissance copies. For a critical appreciation of the relative merits of these copies and, also, for a correct understanding of Cyriacus' own attitude, these drawings offer valuable assistance. The relief frieze (Plate II *b*) shows twelve dancing girls in archaistic drapery followed by a musician, that is altogether thirteen figures. Only one copy of Cyriacus' drawings, from the Codex Ashburnensis Laurentinus 1174 fols. 123 v. and 125,<sup>5</sup> was known until F. Saxl recently published a second, in his study of a sketchbook owned by Professor Bernard Ashmole which, for the sake of brevity, may be called Ashmolensis (fols. 137 v. and 138 v., here Plate II *a*).<sup>6</sup> In both drawings only ten figures are preserved, nine of the dancing girls and, in addition, the musician at the end. Inasmuch as the thirteen figures of the original frieze are carved on two blocks, one of which shows six, the other seven figures, it is obvious that Cyriacus saw and drew the complete frieze of thirteen figures and that one of his drawings was lost either in his sketchbook or in a copy of it on which these two drawings may have been based. This is further borne out by the following fact: In the Ashburnensis as well as in the Ashmolensis the four last figures are inscribed (below) Αἱ τῶν Σαμοθράκων νύμφαι.<sup>7</sup> In both, however, the other six figures are named as six of the nine Muses, but the three other names are missing (Plate II *a*).<sup>8</sup> What happened here is obvious: Cyriacus interpreted nine of the thirteen figures of the relief as Muses; the rest he called by the vague term Nymphs, in this way accounting for the presence of thirteen figures, a number corresponding to no single mythological group. One of his drawings with three of the "Muses" must have been lost before the extant two copies were made. A third antiquarian, who copied inscriptions, but not drawings, the author of the Codex Tarvisinus,<sup>9</sup> regarded the inscription Αἱ τῶν Σαμοθράκων νύμφαι as authentic and worth recording. In any case, it is obvious that the original interpretative inscriptions were added by Cyriacus himself.<sup>10</sup> When he saw the relief in Samothrace, he did not relate it to any special religion there, but to such general concepts as Muses and Nymphs.<sup>11</sup>

The inscriptions which Cyriacus added as labels are written in Greek capital letters in contrast to the Latin comments which he otherwise used to indicate a location or some other detail.<sup>12</sup> A natural result of this use of Greek capital letters was that

<sup>5</sup> Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, figs. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> Saxl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 7 a = Plate II *a*.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra*, note 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, Saxl, *loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Bibl. Cap. 221, Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 408.

<sup>10</sup> Saxl, *loc. cit.*, p. 34, leaves this undecided. But the combined labels of Muses and Nymphs can only have been created in view of the complete stones.

<sup>11</sup> In this connection, see Saxl's fine remarks, *loc. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> For example, in the drawing of the Samothracian bronze head of Medusa: Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 411, fig. 3; Saxl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 8 d, p. 34. Saxl's comparison with the glass paste of the Evans collection (Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 38, 2, vol. 2, p. 181; Saxl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 8 c) probably is correct as far as the style of the monument seen by Cyriacus goes. The glass paste



those who used and copied his sketches believed the inscriptions to be authentic ancient documents. Whether Cyriacus anticipated such abuse<sup>13</sup> or not, this practice of fanciful interpretation in a quasi-documented form contrasts strangely with his well-known devotion to carefully copying preserved inscriptions, large or small, important or unimportant.

Among the Samothracian monuments, there is another which enables us to check on Cyriacus' activity as a copyist of inscriptions. While it is an additional and striking example of the great documentary value of his records, it also allows us to define the limits of his methods and attitude and, finally, to draw further conclusions as to the relative merits of the preserved copies of his sketchbook. It therefore deserves a brief discussion at this point.

Including the recently added Ashmolensis drawing (fol. 140 r., Plate III *a*)<sup>14</sup> there are now three copies of Cyriacus' original sketch of a Samothracian stele with a relief of a round building, the other two being preserved in Codex Ambrosianus A 55 (fol. 69 v., Plate IV)<sup>15</sup> and in the Ashburnensis (fol. 120 r., Plate III *b*).<sup>16</sup>

was undoubtedly cast from a mould taken from a Hellenistic original. Another greenish glass paste, from the same mould, which unfortunately has been lost in the meantime, was seen by me in Este, in 1927, a fact which proves the existence of a famous model. However, this evidently represented Alexander the Great with the Aegis and the wings of Hermes in his human hair. The paste from Este as well as the one in the Evans collection (of which the late Sir Arthur Evans kindly gave a cast to me) shows clearly hair without snakes, and this can even be recognized in the illustration. Furtwängler was misled by the free and curling ends of the hair around the upper outline. The question arises whether Cyriacus saw a similar bronze head but, because of the combination of Aegis and head-wings, interpreted it as Medusa. In this case, we should have another example of his generalization and conjectures. But he actually seems to indicate snakes in the hair, and it may well be that the monument was in reality a head of Medusa. His label "Medusae caput aheneum apud Samothraciam ad novam arcem positum" implies a large sculpture, probably a bronze relief, which at that time was inserted in the walls of the castle in the village. One feels reminded of the gilded Gorgoneion, which was certainly of bronze, on the southern wall of the Acropolis of Athens (Pausanias, I, 21, 3; V, 12, 4). This, too, was a Hellenistic work.

<sup>13</sup> The fact that in the last discussed case (note 12) he also uses Latin maiuscule letters instead of the common minuscule script, though no deception could be intended here, rather indicates his innocence and naïveté in this respect. Kubitscheck, *Arch.-ep. Mitt. aus Öst.*, VIII, 1884, pp. 102 f., accused Cyriacus of a deliberate forgery in regard to the Hesiod epigram. But it seems to me not excluded that he actually saw a Roman stone inscribed with it in Thessalonica ("Thelonica," of course, refers to that town, and has nothing to do with the Helicon). Why should Cyriacus have stressed the fact that the letters were "Attic," if he had not seen an actual stone? It is amusing to recall the fact that, still in the twentieth century, a learned man accepted the label of the Nymphs as authentic: R. Prettazoni, *Le origini dei Kabiri (Memorie della R. Acc. dei Lincei, 1908)*, p. 667.

<sup>14</sup> Saxl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 5 d. Here from an original photo given to me by Professor Saxl.

<sup>15</sup> Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 414. Here, from a new photo, for which I am indebted to the Prefect of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

<sup>16</sup> A. Conze, *Sitzungsb. Ber. Ak.*, 1892, p. 213; O. Rubensohn, *Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake*, 1892, pp. 166 f., notes 50 f., fig. on p. 166; F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, 1926, p. 177, fig. 17. No drawing of the stone is preserved in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5250 f., as Dr. Banti was kind enough to confirm, and none seems to exist in the Codex Tarvisinus.

The monument belongs to a series of Samothracian stones of which four examples are so far known, all of them representing the same curious and debated structure.<sup>17</sup> These stones have had a particularly strange fate. The one seen and drawn by Cyriacus in the fifteenth century seemed, quite naturally, to have been lost for good.<sup>18</sup> A second, which was brought from Samothrace to Athens in the eighteenth century, disappeared soon afterwards.<sup>19</sup> Two more such stelae were seen by scholars in Samothrace in the nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Their actual whereabouts are unknown now, too. But the stone which Aberkladen and Fauvel saw in Athens in the eighteenth century was rediscovered in recent years in the garden wall of an English country house.<sup>21</sup> And, finally, at least two fragments of the stone Cyriacus saw are once again at hand. In fact, O. Kern saw one of these fragments (Plate V *b*) in Samothrace in the late nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup> But he did not recognize that it contained part of the long Greek inscription beneath the relief of the round building, as drawn and copied by Cyriacus. While this long inscription was published with emendations on the basis of Cyriacus' text in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII, 8 (1909) as no. 191, the fragment seen by Kern appeared under a separate number (192), though the editor considered a connection possible. During our excavation campaign in Samothrace, in 1939, we started a systematic attempt to recover all the scattered fragments of ancient monuments which had been reused in modern buildings and to exhibit them in a projected local Museum.<sup>23</sup> Among the stones which we thus obtained was this fragment. In the course of the preceding winter, the small ruined Byzantine chapel of Hagios Demetrios in the village of Chora had been partly demolished and renovated. The chapel must have been built shortly after Cyriacus' visit. With the co-operation of Mr. Platon Terziz, a well-to-do citizen of the island, we rescued a number of ancient stones which had been reused in the walls of the chapel. One of them is a second sizeable fragment of the Cyriacus stone (Plate V *a*). With the help of Cyriacus' drawing and copy and these two fragments, we can now restore the original monument, with a fair degree of certainty (Plate V *c*). The only uncertain point, in fact, is the upper ending, which may already have been destroyed in Cyriacus' time.

The first observation which we can make as a result of this restoration implies a rather severe criticism of modern epigraphists and their use of Cyriacus. The long-

<sup>17</sup> O. Kern, *loc. cit.*, pp. 356 f.; O. Rubensohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 f., 227 f.; F. Chapouthier, *B.C.H.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 259 f.

<sup>18</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 191 with bibliography.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 188; S. E. Wiebolt, *J.H.S.*, XLVIII, 1928, pp. 180 f., note 3.

<sup>20</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 8, nos. 189 and 190; R. Altmann, *Die Römischen Grabaltäre*, 1905, p. 15, fig. 9 (brought to my attention by Phyllis L. Williams).

<sup>21</sup> Wiebolt, *loc. cit.*, fig. 3; Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures*, p. 176.

<sup>22</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 363, 7. From the same church of Hag. Demetrios in which the other fragment was found in 1939.

<sup>23</sup> See, also, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 355.



known Ambrosianus (Plate IV), as well as the new Ashmolensis (Plate III *a*), not only shows the lengthy Greek inscription beneath the relief, but also two additional Greek inscriptions *in corona*, and below them fragments of a short Latin inscription. In addition, above the Laurentinus drawing (Plate III *b*), one reads: *ad marmoream et ornatissimam basin graecis et latinis litteris epigrammata*. In spite of the obvious conclusion, available on the basis of Cyriacus' copies alone, modern scholars have not recognized the fact<sup>24</sup> that Cyriacus was correct in grouping the two "coronae" and the Latin text beneath them at the sides of the round building. In fact, even in the final edition of the *Corpus*, these two lateral inscriptions are listed as separate items (nos. 211 and 212), far away from the major document (no. 191). The additional failure to recognize the identity of the fragment discussed above (Plate V *b*, no. 192) led to the publication of various parts of one comprehensive monument as four different items! The recovered fragments indicate the reliability of Cyriacus' record, and though he made several minor mistakes in copying the inscriptions, it is now possible to arrive at an almost exact restoration of the monument (Plate V *c*). As to the general distribution, there is no doubt, and our illustrations relieve us of the necessity of a further discussion.

The preserved fragments include considerable portions of the first four lines of the major inscription below, the complete text of the Greek inscription in the left *corona* as well as the left part and some lower endings of the right part of the Latin inscription at the lower sides of the round building. The transcribed texts read as follows:<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Though Ziebarth, *loc. cit.*, p. 414, 10 suspected *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 212 to be part of the monument.

<sup>25</sup> In the transcription < > indicates parts which are now lost but were correctly copied by Cyriacus, ( ) improvements of and supplements to Cyriacus' reading. These are based on the emendations which have been made by others and accepted in the *Corpus* edition. As far as the first lines of *a*, which are now preserved in part, and inscription *b* are concerned, these emendations prove to be correct. However, the preserved fragments confirm the correctness of Cyriacus' reading  $\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$  at the beginning of line 3 against that of the editors of the *Corpus*. In *a*, line 8, I have preferred Boeckhs' reading  $\text{ATTAAOY}$  to the simpler improvement  $\text{AΓΛAOY}$  of Fredrich, in view of *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 188, line 9. It would, indeed, be an altogether phantastic coincidence to have two different Cyzicenes with the same name Asklepiades and with a very similar patronymic on two closely related Samothracian stones. It is obvious that we have to do with the same person who appears in our document as a simple mystes of the lower degree and on stone 188, which for this reason is slightly later, as an epoptes. See, also, Benndorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 f.; Michel, *Recueil*, no. 1141; Rubensohn, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

The fragment Plate V *a* is broken below, above, and at the right side. Present height, 0.34 m.; present width, 0.285 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.; irregularly cut at the back.

The fragment Plate V *b* is broken on all sides. Present height, 0.135 m. (Kern, *op. cit.*: 0.20 m.); present width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.; rough on the back.

Both fragments are of Thasian marble. Height of letters, *a*: 0.019 m. (line 1); 0.016 m. (lines 2-3); 0.014 m. (line 4); *b*: 0.012 m. (lines 1, 3, 4); 0.016 m. (line 2); *c*: 0.014-0.016 m.

In line 3 of the fragment Plate V *b* of inscription *a* the stonecutter had originally forgotten one  $\Pi$  of  $\text{I}\Pi\Pi\text{I}\text{A}\text{P}\text{X}\text{E}\Omega$ . The erased original  $\Lambda$  is visible beneath the second  $\Pi$ , the original  $\chi$  beneath the  $\text{P}$ , the original  $\text{E}$  beneath the  $\text{X}$ .



## a. Lower Greek text:

<K>υζικηνῶν ἱεροπο<ιοὶ κα>ὶ μύσται  
 εὐσε<β>εῖς ἐπ<ὶ Ἀντι>γένου  
 τοῦ Ἑρμα<γόρου ἰ>ππαρχέω,  
 (ὥς δὲ) Σαμο<θρᾶκες ἐπὶ βασιλέως> Ἀριδήλου  
 5 (τοῦ Συμμ)<ίχου: Παρμενίσκος Ἀριστέω>(ς),  
 (Φιλό)<ξενος Φιλοξένου>.

(Μύσ)<ται εὐσεβεῖς: Ἀσκληπιάδης>  
 <Ἀ>(ττ)<άλου, Θερσίων Ἡρογείτ>(ονο)<ς>,  
 <Κυβερνήτης Μηνοφίλου>.

## b. Left corona:

Ἀνδρό-  
 μαχος  
 Δημητρί-  
 ου

## c. Right corona:

<ἐφ>(π)<της>  
 <Θε>(λ)<λας>  
 <Μοιρα>(γ)<ὁ>(ρ)<ο>(ν).  
 <Ζή>(λω)<τος>  
 5 <Ῥοδοκλήου>(ς),  
 <Ῥόδω>-  
 (ν).

## d. Latin text at lower sides of the round building:

Q. Visellius L. f. p̄r̄e(c)<e pius><sup>26</sup>

Certain observations result from a comparison of the original fragments with the copies from Cyriacus' sketchbook. First of all, in spite of his careful observation of facts, a care which was remarkable, given the time and the novelty of the task, it is obvious that Cyriacus did not hesitate to replace actual observation by conjecture where such an opportunity presented itself. At the end of *a*, line 1 the *μύσται* is clearly preserved. Not being familiar with the ritual term (as is shown also at the beginning of line 7), he substituted the familiar *μυστηρίων*, adding three letters. Less surprising is his misreading, addition or omission of single letters.<sup>27</sup> Also, he did not pay much attention to the spacing of the lines. In the drawing of the relief representation, as far as we can judge from the consensus of the manuscripts, he was remarkably correct on the whole, but evidently more interested in the vivid and "telling" elements than in the architectural details of the building which, as a result, appears simplified, while

<sup>26</sup> Compare: *C.I.L.*, III, Supplement 7372 = *I.G.*, XII, 8, p. 39, veneror precibus. The Latin text *d* is probably a later addition. The man might be a son of the Consul of 24 A.D. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, vol. 3, pp. 447 f., no. 488.

<sup>27</sup> See, for these, *I.G.*, XII, 8, nos. 191, 211, 212.

the snakes and garlands are even richer in the number of their curves than they were on the actual monument.<sup>28</sup> The existence of a figural scene above the building which is closely related in the three drawings has its parallel in a monument of the same kind mentioned before.<sup>29</sup>

As to the relative value of the preserved copies of Cyriacus' original, it is obvious that, here too, the Ashmolensis (Plate III *a*) is superior to the other two: in it, the balanced position of the two *coronae* is preserved almost correctly, while they are shifted in a strange way in the Ambrosianus (Plate IV) and do not occur at all in the Ashburnensis (Plate III *b*). If the position of these crowns and their difference in size were the same in the archetype as they are in the Ashmolensis, we can understand the transformation of the Ambrosianus. The Ashmolensis alone has preserved the outward curves of both the base and top of the building. Only the latter occurs in the Ashburnensis, neither in the Ambrosianus. Only in the Ashmolensis is the detail of flames springing from the torches clearly indicated: in the Ashburnensis it is lost completely, while the draughtsman of the Ambrosianus seems to have interpreted the torches as spears. The Ashmolensis, also, is preferable to the Ambrosianus in preserving the exact distribution of the first two lines of inscription *a*, which is changed in the latter, and in not adding separating points between the single words of text *a*. Though the Ashmolensis, therefore, seems to be closer to Cyriacus' original than the Ambrosianus, the latter was certainly not copied from it. In line 6 of text *a* the Ambrosianus preserved the apparently correct first  $\Xi$  while the Ashmolensis gives a  $\Sigma$  instead. On the other hand, in *b*, line 4, the Ashmolensis has the correct ending *-ov*, while the Ambrosianus reads *-os*. The relationship, thus, is clear: both manuscripts were copied independently from Cyriacus' original or an archetype copy, but the Ashmolensis is generally superior and remarkably exact. On the other hand, the Ashburnensis shows direct connections with the Ashmolensis, in several points, in spite of its crudeness in many details and its omission of others. Among these connections is that of the figure scene on top, which completely got out of hand in the Ambrosianus. The latter also omits an indication of the natural ground which is found, beneath this scene, in both the Ashmolensis and Ashburnensis. To judge from the case of the dancer-frieze, too, the latter may have been copied from the Ashmolensis.

This is not the place to discuss the debated question of whether the round buildings represented on these dedications refer to the famous Arsinoeion in Samothrace or to a building in Cyzicus<sup>30</sup> or, finally, to a still unknown Samothracian building. Only

<sup>28</sup> The restored drawing, Plate V *c*, based on the actual fragment and the spacing of the preserved letters, makes it evident that there were only three, not four, garlands and four, not five, bucrania.

<sup>29</sup> See above, note 21.

<sup>30</sup> See bibliography above, note 17.

when the present excavations in Samothrace<sup>31</sup> have been concluded, will it be possible to settle the problem definitely. Assuming that, in one way or another, the building refers to the Samothracian cult, which is nearly certain, the restoration of the complete monument (Plate V c) raises several questions. One of these questions has to do with the figural representation appearing on top of the building in the same place in which another badly destroyed representation is preserved on a second stone.<sup>32</sup> In view of the results of the preceding discussion, we may assume a considerable exactitude on the part of Cyriacus in general, and of the Ashmolensis copy of his sketchbook in particular. The natural ground line on which the scene occurs here and in the Ashburnensis certainly appeared in Cyriacus' original drawing. Did it appear in the actual relief? And does this indicate that the scene takes place, not on top of the building, but behind it on a hill or mountain—which, for example, would fit the location of the Arsinoeion in Samothrace very well? The scene itself might refer to the Samothracian myth: Zeus attacking Iasion with the thunderbolt (not recognized by Cyriacus), while the corresponding figure at the left might be Iasion's twin brother Dardanus who, after his brother's death, emigrated to Asia Minor.<sup>33</sup> Zeus, attacking from a chariot enemies who are, naturally, mostly Giants, is known from many later monuments, but the tradition goes back to the archaic age.<sup>34</sup> This interpretation is only hypothetical. But it is the best I can suggest for the time being. Another interest of the restored monument lies in the two strange "crowns" at the sides of the building. Cyriacus reduced them to simple circles and modern scholars, not recognizing their connection with the original monument, have apparently thought of actual crowns containing names as they so often do on inscriptions of agonistic victories and funeral monuments. The object actually preserved on the stone however (Plate V a) is completely different from that familiar type. It is a heavy oval-shaped mass of metal or cloth and it tapers towards the upper center. In my restoration (Plate V c), I have indicated the latter alternative and my preference for interpreting it as the Samothracian *porphyris*, the purple scarf which the initiated wore around the abdomen for protection from evil.<sup>35</sup> Otherwise, one might think of the still enigmatic Samothracian iron rings<sup>36</sup> which apparently had a similar significance, provided these rings were huge necklaces. In any case, it seems that these objects were represented here for

<sup>31</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 133 f.; XLIV, 1940, pp. 328 f.

<sup>32</sup> See above, note 21.

<sup>33</sup> Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, 3, 138; Strabo, 7 fg. 49 (C 331); Dionys. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 1, 61, 2 f.; Conon, *Narr.*, 21 (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, no. 186, p. 134, ed. Bekker); Ps. Scymnus, *Perieg.*, 11, 676 f. (*G.G.M.*, I, p. 222). For exact references, I am indebted to Dr. Naphtali Lewis. See, Seeliger in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, s. v. Iasion. Rubensohn, *op. cit.*, p. 181, thought of the myth of Harmonia. But all the figures are evidently male.

<sup>34</sup> For the motive of Zeus on a chariot, see Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, vol. 2, pp. 755 f.

<sup>35</sup> See below, p. 134 and note 88.

<sup>36</sup> See, however, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 355.



the purpose of including the names of initiates, one in each. Nothing in the style of the letters of inscription *b* prevents it from being contemporary with inscription *a*, that is the original monument (first century B.C.). But as to inscription *c*, it is obvious from line 1 that here, too, only one name was originally inscribed and that, as is often the case in Samothracian catalogues of mystae, two more names were added later in lines 4 to 7. This inscription also contains a further indication of the *raison d'être* of these oval-shaped objects: Theollas was an epoptes, that is an initiate of the second higher degree, and Andromachos of inscription *b* was very likely of the same rank, while the people mentioned in text *a* are only mystae of the first degree, though two of them were official representatives of Cyzicus. It is, therefore, probable that these "crowns," whether they are scarfs or rings, are distinctive of the epoptae and inserted for that purpose.

Cyriacus' careful reproduction of this stone, its relief, and its texts has thus preserved the complete appearance of a very important monument.<sup>37</sup> With the exception of minor details, his record was exact, indeed, surprisingly exact. On the whole, it is the result of a painstaking observation of the object for the object's sake without any actual knowledge of its relationships and implications. Only at one point, in the copying of the inscriptions, did the other side of his nature creep up: that attitude according to which a conjecture is as good as a truth, provided it offers a natural and vital approach to antiquity. Keeping this double nature of Cyriacus in mind, we may now proceed to a discussion of another of his Samothracian drawings, one which has far more important implications for both Renaissance humanism and Samothracian antiquities.

The new copy of Cyriacus' sketchbook contains a drawing of a bearded, dignified male bust, wrapped in a cloak and explained by an inscription in Greek capital letters as a portrait of Aristotle (Plate VI).<sup>38</sup> Professor Saxl, in his publication of the manuscript, has already recognized the importance of this drawing: it evidently is the model of a type of ideal portrait of Aristotle which began to appear in the last decades of the fifteenth century and became a notable feature of Renaissance iconography (Plate VII *a, b*). As Dr. Planisseg has shown,<sup>39</sup> this iconographic tradition had become so well established by the beginning of the sixteenth century that when Leonardo da Vinci tried to make himself appear like Aristotle, in reality and in portraits, he imitated this type (Plate VII *b*). And, as Saxl has said, it took four centuries before the really documented and completely different portraits of Aristotle

<sup>37</sup> For another rediscovery of a stone copied by Cyriacus, in Chios, compare: J. D. Kondis, 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1937, pp. 483 f.

<sup>38</sup> Saxl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 6 A (= Plate VI), pp. 32, 34, 44.

<sup>39</sup> *Festschrift für Julius v. Schlosser*, 1926, pp. 137 f. See, also, E. Strong, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, IX, 1920, pp. 214 f.

were recognized.<sup>40</sup> In view of the new drawing, it is evident that this tradition was based on Cyriacus' pseudo-antique inscription ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ, which obviously belongs to the same category of conjectural labels as those of the Muses and Nymphs of the Louvre reliefs.<sup>41</sup> Again, Cyriacus added his interpretation in the form of a seemingly antique inscription, and, again, later scholars took this label to be an authentic document. In this instance, however, the effect of the practice was far-reaching, inasmuch as an allegedly authentic portrait of Aristotle could not fail to evoke the greatest interest.

The pseudo-antique inscription already connects this bust with the Louvre reliefs from Samothrace. The drawing is found on folio 141 recto of the Ashmolensis. While it is succeeded in the sketchbook by a Roman altar from Italy (fol. 141 v.),<sup>42</sup> the two immediately preceding drawings refer to two Samothracian monuments: our stele with the round building (Plate IV, fol. 140 r.) and a bronze head of a Medusa which Cyriacus explicitly located in Samothrace (fol. 140 v.).<sup>43</sup> For this reason, alone, there would appear to be a fair chance that the "Aristotle" too was seen and drawn by Cyriacus on that island.

Fortunately, we are in a position to prove that this was really the case and now, for the third time, to compare an original monument with a drawing by Cyriacus. This comparison, furthermore, will show why Cyriacus conjectured that this was a portrait of the king of philosophers and thus established a far-reaching iconographic tradition. And, finally, it will help us to understand the original meaning as well as some of the implications of an unusual work of ancient art.

In 1939, the same process of recovering scattered ancient monuments which had yielded the fragments of the stele with the round building (Plate V *a-b*) led to the removal of a marble bust of a bearded man (Plate VII *c, d, e*) from its position high up in the wall of a building in the modern village.<sup>44</sup> According to reliable information from the owner of the building,<sup>45</sup> it had been brought from the river bed west of the sanctuary of the Great Gods about fifty years before by his grandfather at the time he erected the building in which it still appeared. The bust is of Thasian marble and is badly weathered and severely corroded. In addition, it is unusually flat and its back was left unfinished. Its style is clearly that of the local island schools of about the middle of the fifth century B.C., of the so-called transitional period. All these features, material, technique, flatness, neglect of the back, style relate the piece intimately to a nearly life-sized female statue (Plate VII *f-g*) which we rescued in 1938 from the very same region in which the bust had been found in the late nineteenth century.

<sup>40</sup> F. Studniczka, *Das Bildnis des Aristoteles*, 1908. E. Pfuhl, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Bildniskunst*, 1927.

<sup>41</sup> Saxl, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 9 c, p. 44.

<sup>43</sup> See above, note 12.

<sup>44</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 354, fig. 34. Height: 0.413 m.

<sup>45</sup> This is the same Mr. Platon Terziz whose helpfulness has been acknowledged above.

Apparently, both pieces belonged to a group of architectural sculptures which had fallen down into the river bed from a building in the sanctuary. Most likely, it was a pedimental group: this is indicated by the flatness of the figures as well as by the neglected backs and a difference in size. The bust is proportionately smaller than the female figure, a feature which points to their belonging to a pedimental composition, in which the central divine figures were larger in size than the lateral groups of heroes. So much we concluded immediately in Samothrace when we compared the two sculptures.<sup>46</sup>

A comparison of the head (Plate VII *c, d, e*) with Cyriacus' drawing (Plate VI) of "Aristotle" makes it evident that the bust was Cyriacus' model. It also shows that Professor Saxl was wrong in assuming that in his drawing Cyriacus added a conventional draped bust of Renaissance style to the head of a Greek poet or philosopher;<sup>47</sup> such a practice, incidentally, seems to have been foreign to him. The proportion of bust and head, the drapery swathing the entire body and ascending to the right shoulder, the long beard and the hanging moustache of subarchaic style, the separated upper skull which Cyriacus and his successors interpreted as a skull-cap, the long strands of hair hanging forward at the sides and not at all in keeping with the appearance of a real portrait of the fifth or fourth centuries B.C., all these features are identical in bust and drawing. A unique technical detail which Cyriacus has indicated in his drawing removes any doubt about the identity; it reflects, too, the same devotion to the exact recording of facts which contrasts so strangely with his conjectural imagination: this is a horizontal line parallel to the lower edge of the bust and about an inch above it. This line clearly appears in both Cyriacus' drawing and the bust, where it is the upper edge of a slight projection made for the insertion of the lower part of the bust into a base.<sup>48</sup>

Once the identity of the model of Cyriacus' "Aristotle" is established, it is easy to see what changes or inaccuracies he introduced. One has already been explained by Saxl:<sup>49</sup> the mistake in the rendering of the upper hair as a skull-cap. This is particularly understandable given the badly battered surface of the skull, where no details of hair are visible now, even if they were ever indicated. The hair of the bust is held together by a taenia, the knot and ends of which are sketchily indicated on the back. A second misinterpretation is found in the drapery of the right shoulder. On the bust itself, the cloak is wrapped around the body uninterruptedly, while, in the

<sup>46</sup> See note 44.

<sup>47</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>48</sup> I was therefore wrong in saying (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 354, note 37): "modern cut below." The lower surface is, indeed, less weathered, as a result of its being protected, throughout eight centuries of antiquity, until, in the final catastrophe, the bust rolled down from its original location into the river bed. This statement did not take into consideration the obviously original feature of the lower projection, and was suggested by the seemingly unique existence of a male bust in this period, which appeared inexplicable before we had Cyriacus' drawing.

<sup>49</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 34.



drawing, Cyriacus inserted an imaginary knot of drapery into its ill-preserved outlines. In rendering the beard and face, as in representing the faces of the Louvre frieze,<sup>50</sup> Cyriacus has, again, translated the rigid formality of an ancient work into a more fluid, calligraphic and, at the same time, naturalistic rhythm of lines, loosening the masses and making them appear more like the actual texture of hair and flesh. This change of style and the resulting mixture of elements in the drawing give the head its curious appearance of a learned rabbi. It seems particularly suitable for Aristotle, and, indeed, survived in later tradition (Plate VII *a-b*).<sup>51</sup>

But there is one respect in which the Cyriacus drawing is strangely different from the bust, so much in fact, that at first sight its diversity might seem to balance the striking similarities which have been pointed out before: this is the curious character of the eyes. In the drawing, they appear to be almost completely closed; only above the lower lid does a small slit suggest that they are not actually shut. This curious feature contrasts strangely with the eyes of the Samothracian bust which are now deeply and roughly carved. However, the present form of these eyes is the result of modern recutting, as we observed immediately, in our first investigation of the head, long before Cyriacus' drawing was known.<sup>52</sup> At that time, we saw no reason for this recutting of the eyes which evidently was done by an awkward local craftsman, when the bust was brought to the village, in the late nineteenth century, and used to decorate the façade of a building. Now, on the basis of Cyriacus's drawing, we may conclude that the ancient bust actually had its eyes either shut or nearly shut, and that, for this very reason the modern villagers, when they reused the bust, preferred to open them up. Once again, Cyriacus' sharp and detailed observation, which, in this case included such details as the lower projecting edge, has helped us to restore an ancient monument.

But the fact that the bearded Samothracian bust which Cyriacus, evidently, saw in 1444 in its original fallen position in the sanctuary, had closed or nearly closed eyes at once reveals the reason for his interpretation as well as the original meaning of the ancient work.

From Cyriacus' drawing (Plate VI) it is obvious that he interpreted whatever he saw as twinkling eyes in which only a small reduced section in the depth was rather suggested than actually visible. The ancient and medieval sources for the iconography of Aristotle stress three features which Cyriacus recognized in this bust: <sup>53</sup> his long beard, mentioned in an Arabic text; <sup>54</sup> his baldness, which evidently caused Cyriacus to interpret the upper part of the head as covered by a skull-cap; <sup>55</sup> and, finally, most

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>51</sup> Planiscog, *loc. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> I may repeat here the passage from our accession-catalogue, which was written in August, 1939, in Samothrace: "At the same time [that is, in the modern reuse] the eyes have been roughly deepened."

<sup>53</sup> Studniczka, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 f.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12 f.

important, his small eyes.<sup>56</sup> Obviously Cyriacus considered the closed or nearly closed eyes of the bust, in conjunction with the two other features, as proof of the identity of the person as Aristotle.<sup>57</sup>

At this point, it is legitimate to interrupt the factual argument for a moment and to imagine the actual scene on that day in the fall of 1444. There, in the deserted solitude of a mountainous valley on that remote island, an enthusiastic man searched among the scattered debris of the grandeur of the past for documents, tangible illustrations of the great artistic and intellectual inheritance, which he was striving to help "revive." He was on the island, on which, as tradition had it, Philip had fallen in love with Olympias. Macedonia was near. Facing a humble, badly destroyed piece of provincial sculpture, he recognized the bearded countenance of a dignified old man with what he took to be a bald head covered by a skull-cap. Above all, he noticed the unique rendering of the partly or completely closed eyes. His mind, constantly focusing on the intellectual greatness of the past, was struck by what must have been a most exciting flash of combination to a man of that age: here he recognized the essential features of the greatest of thinkers, as tradition of word had crystallized them; he had found a portrait of Aristotle himself! He made a careful drawing of the head and, inasmuch as a credible conjecture was as good as a truth, he added the name in good Greek capital letters, as if it were documented by an ancient inscription. A few decades later, when Cyriacus' sketches began to be used by scholars and artists, they found a documented portrait of the great philosopher among them and something of that humble Greek work of art remained alive in many succeeding portraits of Aristotle.

This interesting and amusing chapter of the reflection of antiquity in the Renaissance deals, however, with only one aspect of the matter. Another concerns the original significance of the ancient work of art which we can now understand on the basis of Cyriacus' drawing.

Who is the bearded old man wrapped up in a cloak, with his eyes closed and solemn taeniae in his hair? What part did he play in a large sculptural group of the transitional period and in the mystery sanctuary of Samothrace? The original closed eyes which only Cyriacus' drawing enabled us to restore, given the modern recutting, are not without parallel in this period of Greek art. The best known example is the Roman copy of a work of about 460 B.C.—that is, contemporary with our bust—which has been convincingly interpreted as the earliest preserved ideal portrait of the blind Homer (Plate VIII *a*).<sup>58</sup> This device of closing the eyes and thereby shutting off the

<sup>56</sup> Diog. Laert., V, 1, 2: *μικρόμματος*. Compare, Aelian, *Var. hist.*, 3, 19; Studniczka, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>57</sup> This detail of the drawing is preserved in the first idealized portraits of Aristotle which were based on it. Planiscog, *loc. cit.*, figs. 62-64. Our Plate VII *a*.

<sup>58</sup> Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, vol. 3, part 1, 1936, pp. 47 f., with bibliography.



light of the outside world was the early Greek convention for the representation of blindness. But our man is certainly not Homer, who could hardly appear, in this age, as part of an architectural group. Another unique feature of the head helps us to find out who he is. As we have seen, at its lower end the bust has a projecting band of stone for insertion into the ground (Plate VII *c-e*). Hence, this bearded, blind, old man, wrapped tightly in his cloak and wearing the taenia of a priest, is emerging from the ground. It is the blind Teiresias in the underworld, as he appeared to Odysseus, and he is approaching the pit in order to drink the blood of a ram, which will enable him to speak and prophesy the future.<sup>59</sup> He appears, thus, wrapped in his cloak, with white hair, and a long beard and moustache, and closed eyes, as he emerges from the ground, on a famous Apulian vase painting of the end of the fifth century B.C. (Plate VIII *b*).<sup>60</sup> Only, in the painting the position of the head is different from that of our bust, possibly as a result of the vase painter's need of relating the persons to each other within the narrow field of his picture. On the other hand, the strangely stooping, forward movement of our bust (Plate VII *c-e*) visibly illustrates Teiresias' thirsty approach to the pit from which he intends to drink.

<sup>59</sup> Homer, *Od.*, XI, 1 f.

<sup>60</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, vol. 1, pl. 60, pp. 300 f. As to the preservation, Reichhold, *ibid.*, p. 305. As Reichhold explained, modern restorers have tampered with the head, but it is essentially old. P. Wolters (in Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 12th ed., vol. 1, 1923, p. 351), against his own former judgment (still, *ibid.*, 11th ed., 1921, p. 355), doubted the authenticity of the head and suggested interpreting the scene as Ajax after his insanity. E. Pfuhl (*Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, vol. 1, 1923, p. VI ad p. 598) accepted this verdict as based on observation of the original by Wolters (which Wolters does not say and which, as far as I know, is unlikely; Pfuhl's reference is also wrong). Wolters' only argument seems to have been the fact that the head uses the contour of the leg of the standing figure at the left as part of its outline. He admits the possible authenticity of the head, nevertheless. But apparently he was so fascinated by his new interpretation of the scene that he suggested the later addition of the head in antiquity—a completely impossible and unparalleled idea! It will be noted that the painter has used the contour of Odysseus' left foot for the outline of the head of the ram next to it, in exactly the same manner. Therefore, E. Löwy, *Polygnot*, 1929, p. 31, has rightly not accepted the wild theory. In the article "Teiresias" in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, which otherwise too is worthless, the vase is not even mentioned. For the position of the head, compare also the Anodos of Kore, particularly *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, p. 167, fig. 29.

It seems to me possible that in the Nekyia of Polygnotus the bust of Teiresias emerged from the ground in a similar fashion. Pausanias' expression (X, 29, 8) *Τειρεσίας πρόεισιν ἐπὶ τὸν βόθρον* may as well mean that he emerges from below as that he approaches from the side, and does not necessarily refer to his walking. The "neo-attic" relief in the Louvre (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, vol. 2, p. 104, fig. 1255; *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art, Le Musée du Louvre, La Sculpture Grecque*, 1, 1938, p. 135) also shows the bearded old man with closed eyes derived from this fifth-century tradition. In representing Teiresias as a young man, the Etruscan mirror in Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 2, pl. 240, though retaining the motive of the closed eyes, may have been inspired by the figure of Elpenor from a more complex original (differently C. Robert, *Archäologische Hermeneutik*, 1919, p. 152; but compare scenes like *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 337 f. and Giglioli, *Arte Etrusca*, 1935, pl. 348, fig. 2, with bibliography). For the Tomba dell'Orco, see below.





a—The Muses. Ashmole MS., f. 137v-138v



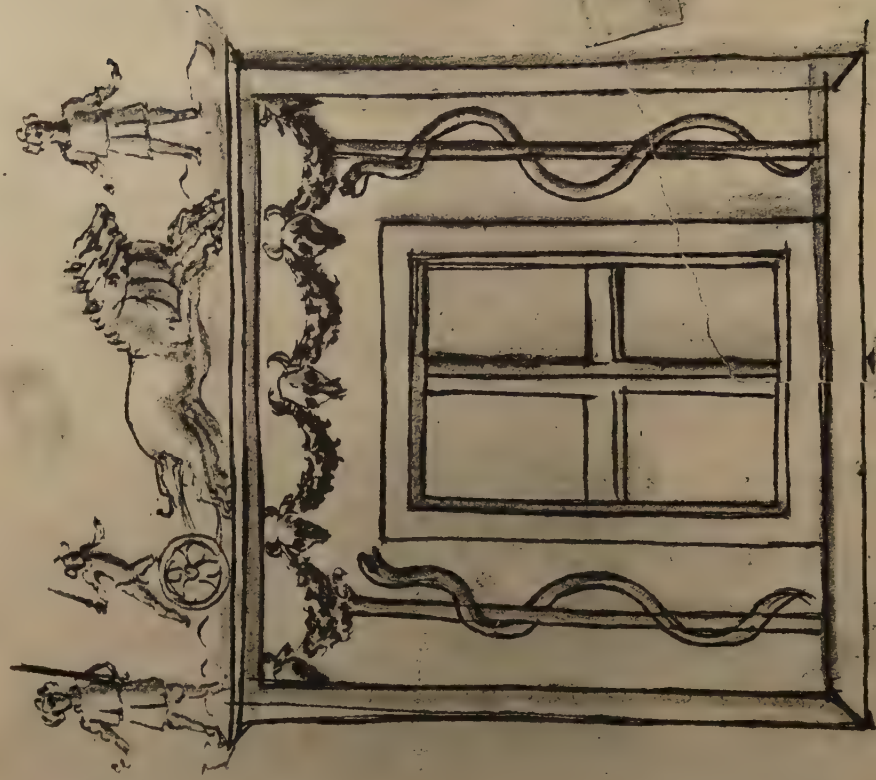
b—Relief from Samothrace. Louvre

Relief from Samothrace (b) and Copy of Drawing Made by Cyriacus of Ancona (a)

*Ad marmoreum et ornatum basin prae  
& laqueis litoreis epigrammata*



a. Ashmolenensis Copy



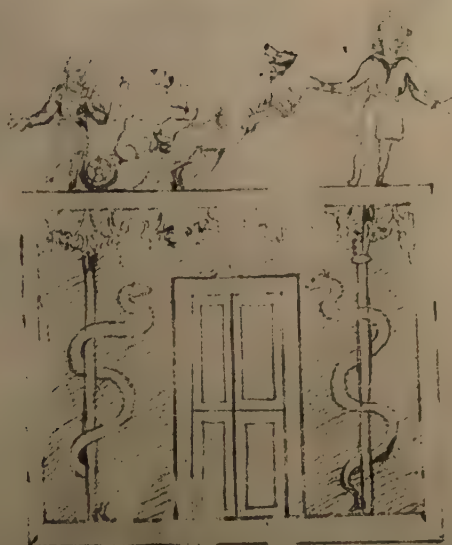
b. Ashburnensis Copy



Α. ΟΡΡΙV ΝΕΦΟΣ

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ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ·  
ΜΟΣΧΟΣ ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΟΥ·  
ΖΗΝΩΝ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ·  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ·

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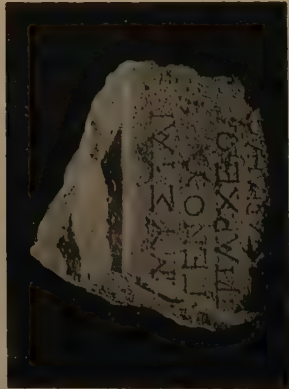
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ΡΟΔΟΚΛΗΟΥ  
ΡΟΔΩ  
Ν·  
ΠΡΕΓΕ  
ΡΙVΣ

ΖΗΝΩΝ ΙΕΡΟΠΟΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΣ  
ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΜΑΓΟΤΟΥ  
ΙΠΠΑΡΧΕΩ  
ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΚΕΣ ΕΠΙΤΑΓΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΔΗΛΟΥ  
ΙΧΟΥ ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡ  
ΣΕΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ  
ΑΙΤΑΙ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑ ΑΓΑΠΙΑ ΙΣ  
ΑΓΑΛΩΥ ΘΕΡΕΙΩΝ ΗΡΟΓΕΙΤΗΣ  
ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΗΣ ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥ·

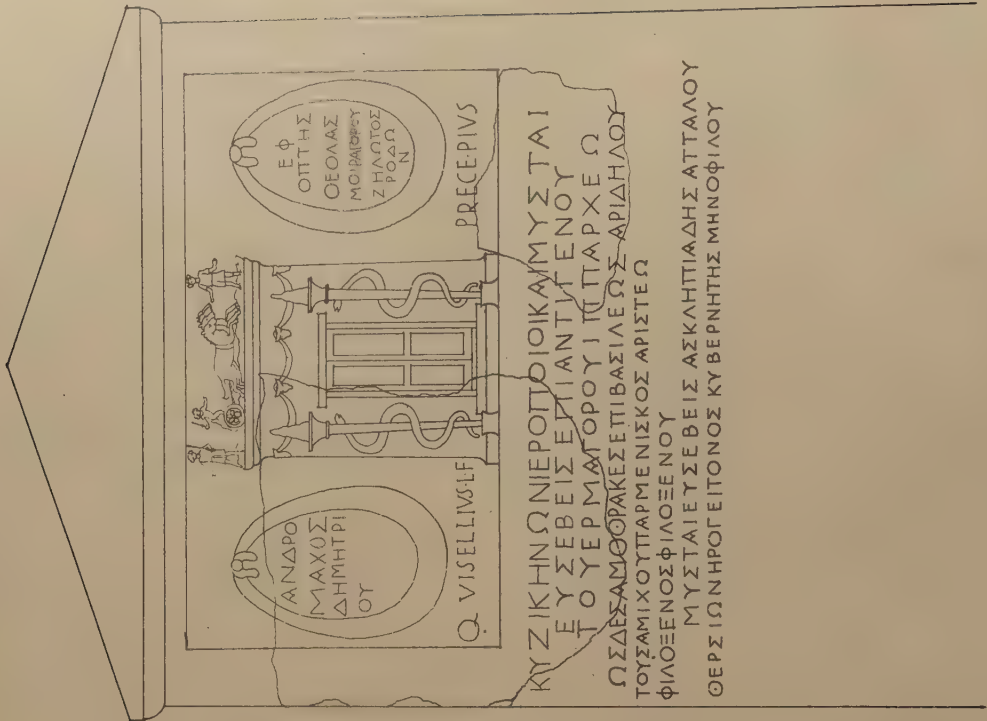




a. Recently Discovered Fragment



b. Fragment I. G., XII, 8, 192



J. M. SHAW.

c. Restored Drawing of Stele

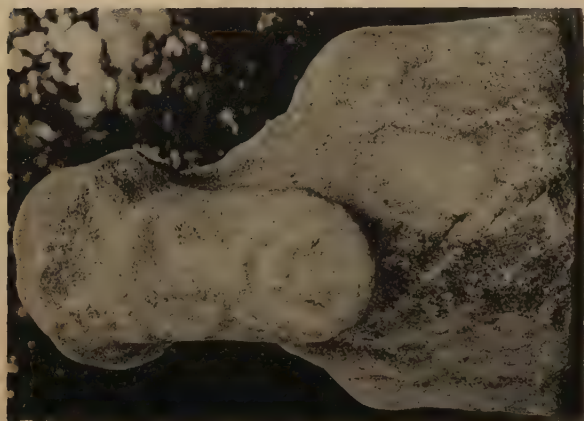


Ashmolenensis Copy of Cyriacus' Drawing of a Samothracian Bust





*a.* Ideal Portrait of Aristotle



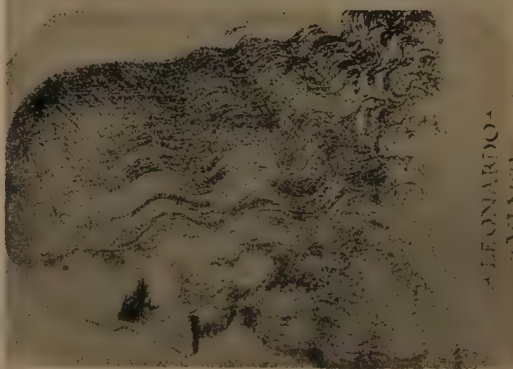
*c.* Bust from Samothrace



*d.* Side View of *c*



*e.* Rear View of *c*



*b.* Leonardo da Vinci (Drawing) and Aristotle (Bronze Bust)

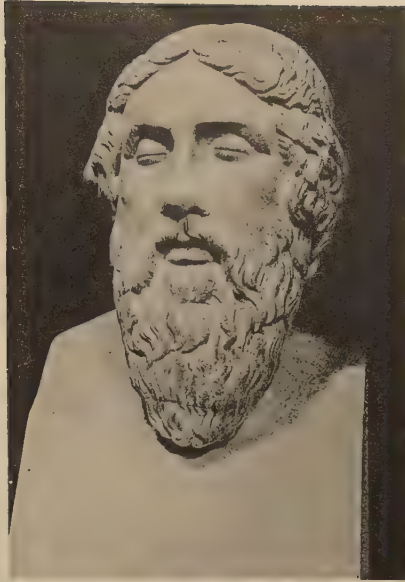


*f.* Female Statue from Samothrace



*g.* Rear View of *f*





*a.* The Vatican Homer



*b.* Teiresias Emerging from the Ground (Furtwängler-Reichhold, I, pl. 60)

PLATE IX



Relief from Samothrace (Louvre): Agamemnon, Talthibios, Epeios





*a.* Reconstruction of Serpent in Louvre Relief



*b.* Spartan Hero-Relief



PLATE XI



Frescoes in Third Chamber of Tomba dell 'Orco in Corneto

The group to which our bust belonged was a representation of the Nekyia. If it was a pediment, as seems probable, Teiresias emerged from the ground at one side as a bust, near Odysseus and his companions. The female figure (Plate VII *f-g*)—of a goddess?—was closer to or in the center. The other half of the pediment must have been occupied by additional figures of the underworld.

This architectural group of Odysseus in the Underworld is of Thasian marble, and, most likely, was made by local Thasian sculptors at the same time that the great painter Polygnotus of Thasos painted his famous Nekyia fresco in Delphi.<sup>61</sup> This fresco, in turn, may well have indirectly inspired the composition of the South Italian vase painting (Plate VIII *b*) which is so closely related to our Teiresias.<sup>62</sup> It is important to note these connections between the work of the Thasian painter, who was also a sculptor,<sup>63</sup> and the Samothracian group. In his painting in Delphi Polygnotus introduced a clear reference to his native island, the neighbour of Samothrace, and to its local mystery cult. This was his representation of an otherwise unknown local heroine who was said to have introduced a mystery cult of Demeter from the island of Paros to Thasos.<sup>64</sup> This scene, at the left of the Polygnotan fresco, corresponded to another at the right alluding to the benefits of initiation into the mysteries by representing the unhappiness of uninitiated men and women who carry water in broken jars.<sup>65</sup> The Homeric scene of the Nekyia of Odysseus which was thus framed in the Polygnotan painting by religious allusions to mystery-initiation has been regarded as an archaic Greek contribution of a religious character having similar implications.<sup>66</sup> However that may be, the connection of this scene of the prophecy of Teiresias with the ideology of mystery religions is as evident in the painting by Polygnotus of Thasos as it is in the contemporary representation in Thasian monumental sculpture in Samothrace.

<sup>61</sup> General bibliography: E. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 649 f., 671 f. M. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, 1930, p. 453.

<sup>62</sup> Löwy, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>63</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 85.

<sup>64</sup> Pausanias, X, 28, 3. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. 5, pp. 373 f.; Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausanias*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 779; Göler, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Tellis and s. v. Thasos (p. 311). For an attempted restoration of this section: S. Pappaspyridi, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, 1923, pp. 134 f., fig. 9. For the relationship of the Cabiric cult to that of Demeter in Paros: O. Kern, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Kabiroi, p. 1412.

<sup>65</sup> Pausanias, X, 31, 9 and 11. Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 388 f.; Hitzig-Blümner, *op. cit.*, p. 802; E. Kühner, *Jahrbuch*, VIII, 1893, p. 109; H. Schöne, *ibid.*, p. 200, note 23. Carcopino, *Études Romaines*, 1926, pp. 282 f.

<sup>66</sup> See Wüst, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Odysseus, pp. 1970 f. U. v. Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, 1884, pp. 140 f., 199 f. Teiresias, whose tomb was shown in various places, and whose relationship to chthonic cults is evident from his function in the Nekyia as well as from his appearance as a snake, according to one version had been stricken with blindness by the gods *ὅτι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἃ κρύπτειν ἔθελον* [mysteries ?] ἐμήνηε (Apollod., III, 6, 7). See Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Teiresias, pp. 181 f. For vague connections with the Boeotian Cabirium: C. Robert, *Griechische Heldensage*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 130.

In Polygnotus' painting, this relationship is the result of the painters' own personal allegiance to a native cult of his island home rather than of any interest on the part of his employers, the citizens of Cnidus, although in their town, too, there was a mystery cult of Demeter.<sup>67</sup> The only local allusion is to Thasos. That the Samothracian cult of the Great Gods used the Nekyia scene in the same period is, thus, not surprising, though its use in monumental architectural sculpture is a fact of considerable importance for the iconography of sculpture. For this revelation we are indebted to Cyriacus and, what is more, it leads to further important conclusions.

That the Samothracian cult was of chthonic character has long been established and it was confirmed by our excavations. But the very chthonic character of this mystery cult does not necessarily include a preoccupation with the destiny of the soul after death. Our literary sources are silent about this point, and the archaeological evidence available thus far has not allowed us to answer the question of whether or not initiation in Samothrace included the hope of a happy after-life, as it did in Eleusis.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, the occurrence of an Underworld scene as a major sculptural decoration of the Samothracian sanctuary about the middle of the fifth century B.C. is the first tangible indication that this was actually the case.

It is unlikely, at this early time, that such a fundamental concept of the Samothracian cult was the result of Eleusinian influence. On the other hand, we possess another, and considerably earlier, Samothracian monument which, in the light of this new discovery, may be explained as part of an Underworld picture, too. This is the famous archaic relief in the Louvre (Plate IX) which belongs to the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. and, so far, has not been susceptible of unequivocal interpretation.<sup>69</sup> Its use and function, though surely tectonic, are unknown.<sup>70</sup> It is the right end of a frieze in a local "Ionic" style of sculpture and represents the seated Agamemnon. Behind him, as the inscriptions in local characters<sup>71</sup> indicate, stand his

<sup>67</sup> See the sanctuary from which the famous Demeter in the British Museum comes, and its interesting finds: Ch. Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, vol. 2, 1863, pp. 375 f.

<sup>68</sup> See A. D. Nock, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 577.

<sup>69</sup> Often reproduced in handbooks. See Friedrich-Wolters, *Bausteine zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Plastik*, 1885, pp. 16 f. with the important earlier bibliography. Best illustration: *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art, Le Musée du Louvre, La Sculpture Grecque*, I (25, no. 5 du tome III), Paris, 1938, p. 135 D.

<sup>70</sup> Friedrich-Wolters, *loc. cit.* Mrs. Edward Holsten has suggested that it may have belonged to a parapet surrounding one of the Samothracian bothroi, a very tempting hypothesis (see, already, C. O. Müller, *Kleine deutsche Schriften*, vol. 2, 1848, p. 598) which requires confirmation through a new investigation of technical details.

<sup>71</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 226, with bibliography. Ch. Picard, *op. cit.*, p. 557 (contradicting his own note, in the same volume, p. 79, n. 2) has suggested a modification of the old explanation of Epeios: according to this theory, he is present in his quality of a famous sculptor, inasmuch as he contrived the construction of the wooden horse. In fact, Callimachus (see Pfeiffer, *Sitzungsb. Bayer. Ak.*, 1934, 10, pp. 23 f.) thought of him, centuries later, as a maker of wooden xoana in general. But there is no shadow of evidence for this being an old tradition. Neither, as Picard has stated himself, is Epeios characterized, in the relief, by any implement of the craft.



herald Talthybios and Epeios, generally known as the builder of the Trojan horse. Beyond Agamemnon, to the left, other figures must have followed. The scene has been interpreted as the moment when Epeios produced his wooden horse and showed it to Agamemnon. But such an explanation is impossible, inasmuch as Epeios is standing behind Agamemnon, even in the very corner, far off from the product which he is supposed to show. The clear language of archaic Greek narrative would never have permitted such an illogical arrangement. On the other hand, the combination of just these figures, to which others were apparently added in a quiet gathering at the left, has no basis in any specific Homeric scene. It looks like a rather casual assemblage of epic characters. And what is the meaning of the enormous snake coiling upward in a very spectacular fashion at the right end of the relief? This snake is now largely destroyed because of an accident when the relief was inserted into a wall in the Louvre. But part of the surface of its scaled body, and of the head with its open mouth, a split tongue and elongated eyes were formerly preserved and are known from old drawings.<sup>72</sup> My reconstruction (Plate X *a*) is based on these. In a very archaic fashion, the monster is characterized as phantastic and of terrifying character by the presence of a big spiral curl hanging down from the back of its head.<sup>73</sup>

The solution of these problems is offered by a comparison of the relief with a monument of a quite different region and period which, in turn, is clearly dependent on the Polygnotan tradition of Underworld paintings and its related religious speculation. I refer to the frescoes of the third chamber of the Tomba dell'Orco in Corneto (Plate XI).<sup>74</sup> Here, on one wall, we see Hades and Persephone within a cave, surrounded by the cloudy vapors of the netherworld<sup>75</sup> and giving orders to their demons, while an enormous snake coils upward behind Hades' throne. In spite of the greater naturalism, the size and position of this snake offer the closest analogy to the reptile on the Samothracian relief. Moreover, a similar if slightly smaller snake occurs again at the edge of another section of these frescoes in which Theseus and Peirithoös are represented in the underworld. Here, as in the relief, they evidently indicate the scenery of Hades. The position of the great underworld snake coiling upward behind

<sup>72</sup> Millingen, *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, vol. 2, pl. 1; Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi*, vol. 6, pl. D 6, 1; idem, *Galleria Omerica*, vol. 1, pl. 20; Clarac, *Musée*, vol. 2, pl. 116, no. 238; *Annali*, 1829, pl. C 2.

<sup>73</sup> Already recognized by Wolters, *loc. cit.*, who, however, speaks incorrectly about a "horned" monster.

<sup>74</sup> Chief bibliography: G. Helbig, *Annali*, 1870, pp. 16 f., 64 f.; *Mon. dell'Ist.*, vol. 9, pl. 15 (our Plate XI based on this most clear reproduction); Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria Maritima*, vol. 1, pp. 350 f.; Weege, *Etruskische Wandmalerei*, 1921, pp. 28 f.; F. Poulsen, *Helbig Museum*, 1927, pp. 207 f.; C. C. van Essen, *Did Orphic Influence on Etruscan Tomb Paintings Exist?*, 1927, pp. 1 f.; Messerschmidt, *Jahrbuch*, XLV, 1930, pp. 82 f.; *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, vol. II, part 1, 1936, pp. 206 f.; Pallottino, *Monumenti antichi Lincei*, XXXVI, 1937, pp. 403 f., 410 f.

<sup>75</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 350; Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*, p. 87.

a throne occurs already, indeed, in the very period of the Samothracian relief on the earliest Spartan Hero-Reliefs (Plate X *b*).<sup>76</sup> But in the Tomba dell'Orco, on the wall adjoining the picture of Hades, Persephone, and their acolytes, we find a quiet procession of Homeric Heroes: only three are largely preserved together with fragments of their inscribed names. By coincidence, it is again the right section which is preserved of a gathering which extended toward the left. There is no indication that this is a representation of the Homeric Nekyia of Odysseus.<sup>77</sup> Rather, we have a generalized picture of heroes in Elysium<sup>78</sup> and, in this case, they are accompanied by demons. The heroes preserved are Agamemnon,<sup>79</sup> the "shadow of Teiresias," who, wrapped in a cloak, bearded, and with closed, blind eyes feels his way forward with a stick, and one of the Aiantes.<sup>80</sup> The rest of the contemporary decoration of this tomb, which is the earliest in the complex and datable about 400 B.C.,<sup>81</sup> represents the usual banquet scenes depicting the happy after-life in Elysium according to a long-established Etruscan funeral tradition.<sup>82</sup> It is not necessary at this time to discuss the various problems of interpretation, of the history of religion, and of art which are connected with these frescoes and which will continue to be debated in the future. And we may leave aside the question of exactly what the connotations of the Underworld scenes in this and certain other Etruscan tombs may have been.<sup>83</sup> That they were ultimately inspired by Greek religious paintings, very likely from Southern Italy, is evident and cannot be disputed. In view of the presence of Hades and Persephone in the Tomba dell'Orco, of the appearance of the same divinities in Underworld paintings of "Polygnotan" derivation on funeral vases in Apulia shortly afterward, and of the great importance of cults of Demeter and Persephone in Sicily and Magna Graecia, cults

<sup>76</sup> Mrs. Edward L. Holsten has reminded me of this striking analogy. See, Wace-Tod, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, 1906, pp. 102 f.

<sup>77</sup> Against Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*, see *Corpus Inscr. Etr.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>78</sup> *Corpus Inscr. Etr.*, *loc. cit.*; Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

<sup>79</sup> *Corpus Inscr. Etr.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Poulsen, *loc. cit.*; *Corpus Inscr. Etr.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>82</sup> The scene of Odysseus blinding Polyphemus is considerably later and has no connection with this cycle; see, Helbig, *loc. cit.*; Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*; *Corpus Inscr. Etr.*, *loc. cit.* This was not considered by A. Neppi Modona in his otherwise useful study: *Annali delle Università Toscane*, XLIV, 1926, p. 230.

<sup>83</sup> Weege's theories, *loc. cit.*, about "Orphic-Pythagorean" inspiration have failed in two respects: first, because he undoubtedly went too far in assuming Greek influences in the general repertoire of Etruscan Underworld demons; second, because of the unfortunate terms "orphyic" and "Pythagorean." Van Essen's polemic, *loc. cit.*, therefore, was largely justified. How common or uncommon "orphyic" cults were in the fifth century B.C. is quite unknown. See, now, I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus*, 1941. On the other hand, the fundamentally Greek representations of gods and heroes in the Underworld must have been inspired by Greek religious art and must express the influence of actual Greek cults. The investigations of Altheim have added to our knowledge of the quite tangible and individual importation of Greek cults to central Italy in the early period. See, also, the careful judgment of Pallottino, *loc. cit.*



for which we have ample literary, archaeological, and numismatic evidence, it is logical to assume that the model of the heroes in the underworld was a painting in a South Italian Greek sanctuary of "Eleusinian" character.<sup>84</sup> This model must have belonged to a period contemporary with or not much later than Polygnotus. On the other hand, a number of tangible connections of single elements with the Polygnotan Nekyia have been observed, although the general character of the Etruscan painting is different.<sup>85</sup> The relationship may well be the result of dependence on a common pre-Polygnotan background.

The famous fresco of the Homeric Nekyia in Delphi, with its allusions to the benefits of initiation into a cult of Demeter, is related to the contemporary representation of the same subject in architectural sculpture in Samothrace. The quiet gathering of Homeric heroes in the underworld, the setting of which is characterized by monstrously big snakes, in the Tomba dell'Orco and in the considerably earlier Samothracian relief (Plate IX) connects these two works of art. In the fragmentary Samothracian relief, only Agamemnon and two acolytes are preserved.<sup>86</sup> There is a

<sup>84</sup> The influence of intermediary Etruscan temple paintings has been suggested by Pallottino, *loc. cit.*, p. 423. In another tomb in Corneto there appears a motive clearly derived from a model belonging to a Greek Demeter-cult: the snake chariot of Demeter (*Bull. Ist.*, 1831, p. 92, note 2) or of Triptolemos. A Hellenistic vase by Canoleius representing the Rape of Persephone with clear allusion to mysteries in the inscription εὐσεβῶς, was also found in a tomb in Corneto (*Bull. Ist.*, 1879, p. 82; P. Ducati, *Storia della ceramica greca*, vol. 2, p. 531; Pallottino, *loc. cit.*, p. 489; R. Pagenstecher, *Calenische Reliefkeramik*, 1909, pp. 74 f., no. 114 c; idem, *Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1912, p. 155, no. 114; C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. 3, part 3, p. 454). Compare, also, the evidence for the Magna Mater cult in another fresco in Corneto: *Bull. Ist.*, 1831, p. 92.

<sup>85</sup> All the essential observations were already made by Helbig, *loc. cit.*; See, also, Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 353; Weege, *loc. cit.*; Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>86</sup> His herald, Talthybios, quite naturally stands behind his throne. The presence of Epeios, however, may have a special meaning within the context of this underworld setting. The story told by Athenaeus (X, 456 e) is worthless as far as the aetiological explanation goes (see Maass, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Simonides, p. 187), but this explanation, in turn, is based on the following facts: a) An epigram, about contemporary with Simonides and our Samothracian relief, shows that Epeios was worshipped in Keos with sacrificial meals. b) In Karthaia in Keos, in the sanctuary of Apollo, there was a painting in which Epeios appeared carrying water, and Agamemnon and Menelaos were present in the same painting. c) Stesichorus is quoted as saying: ὥκτειρε γὰρ αὐτὸν [sc. Epeios] ὕδωρ αἰεὶ φέροντα Διὸς κῶρα βασιλέσσω. d) For some topographical reason, later people connected Epeios with a spring in Karthaia. Keeping in mind that there was, from the archaic period on, a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Karthaia in Keos which was connected with a spring (*B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, pp. 333 f.; *I.G.*, XII, 5, 1, 569), it seems to me an obvious conclusion that Epeios the Waterbearer was a hero or demon worshipped here in connection with this sanctuary and that the Διὸς κῶρα of Stesichoros is Kore (and not Helen or Athena as modern interpreters have assumed). It is tempting to think that the waterbearer, like the uninitiated men and women in Polygnotus' painting, was punished in the underworld and released by Kore. Stesichorus, apparently, did connect him with the service of the Atreidai. It is also likely, that, in the painting, he appeared carrying water in the underworld, not far from Agamemnon and Menelaos. In other words, it was another painting of this kind, whether pre- or post-Polygnotan in origin.



literary tradition<sup>87</sup> according to which Agamemnon was one of several heroes who had been initiated in Samothrace. It was said that, through the protection afforded them by the purple scarf of the Samothracian mystae,<sup>88</sup> they were preserved from injury in dangerous exploits. If this interpretation is acceptable, the archaic relief showing them in Elysium may be an old document of this tradition; on the other hand, if the tradition was of later origin, it may well have been inspired by the appearance of such Underworld scenes in the Samothracian sanctuary. Among the heroes who were, thus, under the protection of the Samothracian Gods, Odysseus appears, too, in our literary source: he was, of course, a leading actor in the fifth-century Nekyia pediment.

Not only has Cyriacus' drawing revealed the correct interpretation of an ancient monument as part of the Nekyia of Odysseus, but this interpretation has also thrown new light on the basic creeds of this still most mysterious of ancient mystery cults. It has disclosed new connections in religious iconography, and the fact that, from the archaic period on, the Samothracian religion was concerned with the destiny of men after death as was the Eleusinian cult.

The provincial and badly destroyed bust of Teiresias, the humble work of a local sculptor of about 460 B.C. (Plate VII *c-e*), is nevertheless a clear expression of the concept of the unfailing soothsayer who, even as a shadowy ghost in the underworld, is called upon to reveal the mysteries of the future. By a strange coincidence, his blind prophetic face was later interpreted as a portrait of Aristotle, the creator of philosophical speculation. Thus, the long forgotten old prophet became the ancestor of an illustrious tradition of portraits of the reasoning mind. But, on the island, the poor fragment remained in the place where it had fallen probably about a millenium before Cyriacus of Ancona made his exciting discovery. It remained there for nearly another five hundred years. Then, the head was brought to the modern village, most likely as an image of a patron saint of the Christian church guaranteeing protection to a new building. Thus, after his career as a philosopher, the prophet now turned saint, and his blind prophetically closed eyes were roughly opened to look into a world completely different from his or from that of Cyriacus.

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<sup>87</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod., I, 916; compare Diod., V, 49, 6.

<sup>88</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod., *loc. cit.*

## THE CURVE OF THE NORTH STYLOBATE OF THE PARTHENON

Professor Constantine Caratheodory published an article concerning this curve in the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1937, p. 120. The article gives the reader the impression that the curve was intended to be the arc of a circle of great radius ( $R = 5560$  m., that is, more than  $5\frac{1}{2}$  kilometers). The Professor is of the opinion that many properties of the circle, the simplest of all curves, were known at the time the Parthenon was built, but that it was not until the middle of the 4th century B.C. that the mathematician Menaichmos discovered the parabola, ellipse, and hyperbola. Hence, the Professor argues, the curve of the stylobate of the Parthenon was a circle. It hardly seems possible, however, that the conic sections, which possess delightful intricacies, sprang fully formed from the brain of any one man, like fully armed Athena from the head of Zeus. Without doubt he codified and amplified such treatises on the conics as had been written before his day.

A good many articles have been written on the curve of the north stylobate of the Parthenon. As Professor Caratheodory's article is the most recent and is based upon careful measurements taken recently by Nicholas Balanos, the Professor's article deserves thorough study.

All four stylobates of the Parthenon—north, south, east, and west—are cut to curves. The north stylobate is the best preserved, and, on that account, writers have confined their attention chiefly to the curve of this stylobate.

The following dates are of interest for our discussion:

447–432 B.C. The Parthenon was in the process of building. The upper courses of the foundation of the Older Parthenon are built to a graceful curve, indicating that here was the case of a crowned stylobate before the time of the Parthenon.

First century B.C., latter part. In Vitruvius' treatise on architecture appears the following (Vitr., III, iv, 5): "The level of the stylobate must be increased along the middle by the *scamilli impares*: for, if the stylobate is laid perfectly level, it will look to the eye as though it were hollowed a little. At the end of my book a figure will be found, with a description, showing how the *scamilli* may be made to fit this purpose." Unfortunately the "figure" and "description" have not come down to us.

1837. The English architect John Pennethorne was the first to discover the curve of the stylobate of the Parthenon. This occurred soon after the mediaeval structures built in and around the Parthenon were removed.

1851. Penrose published careful measurements and studies of the curves (*Principles of Athenian Architecture*). He believed the curves of the stylobates approached more nearly parabolas than any other curves. He gave no proof of his belief, however.
1934. G. P. Stevens showed how the curve of the north stylobate of the Parthenon might have been laid out by means of the *scamilli impares* (*A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 533-542 and pl. XXXVII). The method produces a parabolic curve.
1936. Nicholas Balanos remeasured the curves, but he did not publish his measurements until 1940 (*Ἡ Ἀναστήλωσις τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*; his preface is dated 1936). Balanos does not discuss the nature of the curves. His measurements agree closely with those of Penrose.
1937. C. Caratheodory, using Balanos' measurements, published the article already referred to. He investigated the curve from a mathematical point of view.

The writer's arguments for the belief that Ictinus, the architect of the Parthenon, employed a parabola, are as follows:

Using Balanos' figures, plot the horizontal measurements at a scale of 1:400, a convenient scale for our purpose (cf. Fig. 1). 1', 2', 3' . . . 17' are the axes of the 17 columns along the north flank of the temple. Next plot the vertical measurements at full size. Join the tops of the vertical measurements, forming the broken curve shown in the drawing (points O and P represent the extremities of the curve of the stylobate, P being 0.035 m. above O).

We note that the curve between 1' and 17'<sup>1</sup> is not quite a perfect curve. The irregularity is due to the following causes:

1. Without doubt Ictinus made a drawing for the curve (cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, Pl. XXXVII). Even a good drawing can only approach mathematical accuracy.
2. In the process of laying out the long and delicate curve on the stylobate there were opportunities for errors to creep in.
3. When the curve was cut in marble, there were possibilities for further variations from the architect's intention.
4. Earthquakes have disturbed the curve to a certain degree.

<sup>1</sup> We deal with 1' and 17', not with O and P. This is because the corners O and P are in such a poor state of preservation that their levels cannot be calculated with precision. Corner O is badly worn; corner P is completely gone. On the other hand, points 1' and 17' are well preserved, as they lie in the hollow of flutes.



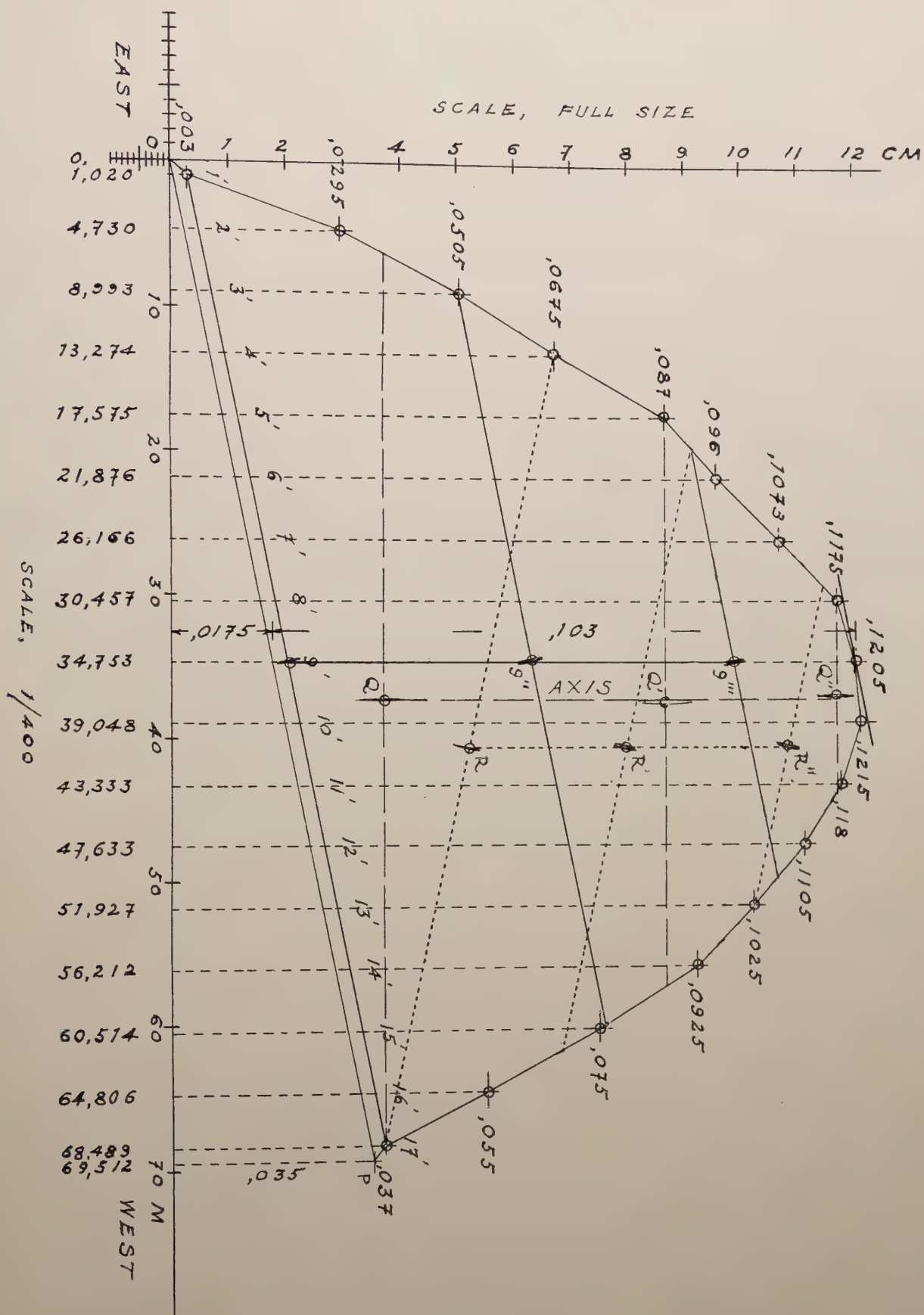


Figure 1

5. The explosion of 1687, when many of the columns of the flanks of the temple were blown over, has contributed to the unevenness of the curve.
6. The engineers whom Balanos asked to measure the curve can only have made close approximations in their readings.

That the curve shown in the drawing is as regular as it is, is a high testimonial to the solid manner in which the foundations and steps of the Parthenon were built, to the precision with which the curve of the stylobate was cut, and to the careful readings taken by Balanos' engineers.

The curve in the drawing (Fig. 1) almost perfectly represents a parabola. The proof depends upon the following well-known theorem: *the loci of the center points of all systems of parallel chords of a parabola are straight lines parallel to the axis of the parabola*. In Figure 1 there are three systems of parallel chords. They are those which have their center points at  $9'$ ,  $9''$ ,  $9'''$  and  $Q Q' Q''$  and  $R R' R''$ . It should be noted that the lines  $9' 9'' 9'''$ ,  $Q Q' Q''$  and  $R R' R''$  are straight lines parallel to each other—the requirement for a parabolic curve. Further, the loci are vertical lines—this means that the axis of the parabola is vertical, and that that particular axis which is perpendicular to its corresponding chords is the axis of the parabola itself.

Objection may be raised that there are an infinite number of systems of parallel chords while only three systems have been used in the demonstration. In reply, it may be observed that the three systems were selected so that the chords of these systems would cut the curve in points—15 in number—located at fairly regular distances along the curve. The 15 points furnish sufficient data to establish the nature of the curve. There can be little doubt that the curve of Figure 1 is a very close approximation to a parabola, in fact so close, that for our purposes we may call it a parabola.

If we multiply the horizontal distances of Figure 1 by any number, the resulting curve will be a parabola with its axis parallel to that of the first parabola (cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, figs. 4 to 7 incl. and accompanying text, pp. 537-539). If we multiply by 400, we obtain the curve of the stylobate itself. Therefore, if the curve represented in Figure 1 is a parabola with a vertical axis, the curve of the stylobate was likewise a parabola with a vertical axis. Further, if the extremities of the stylobate had been on the same level, the axis of the parabola of Figure 2 would be at the center of the stylobate and there the axis would remain when the horizontal distances are multiplied by 400.

The northwest corner of the stylobate is 0.035 m. higher than the northeast corner (cf. Fig. 1). This difference in level does not seem to be intentional. The corners are 69.512 m. apart, and the slight difference in level between them cannot be remarked by the human eye. We may claim, then, that Ictinus, in his drawing of the curve, represented the corners as being on the same level (cf. Fig. 2). The axis of the

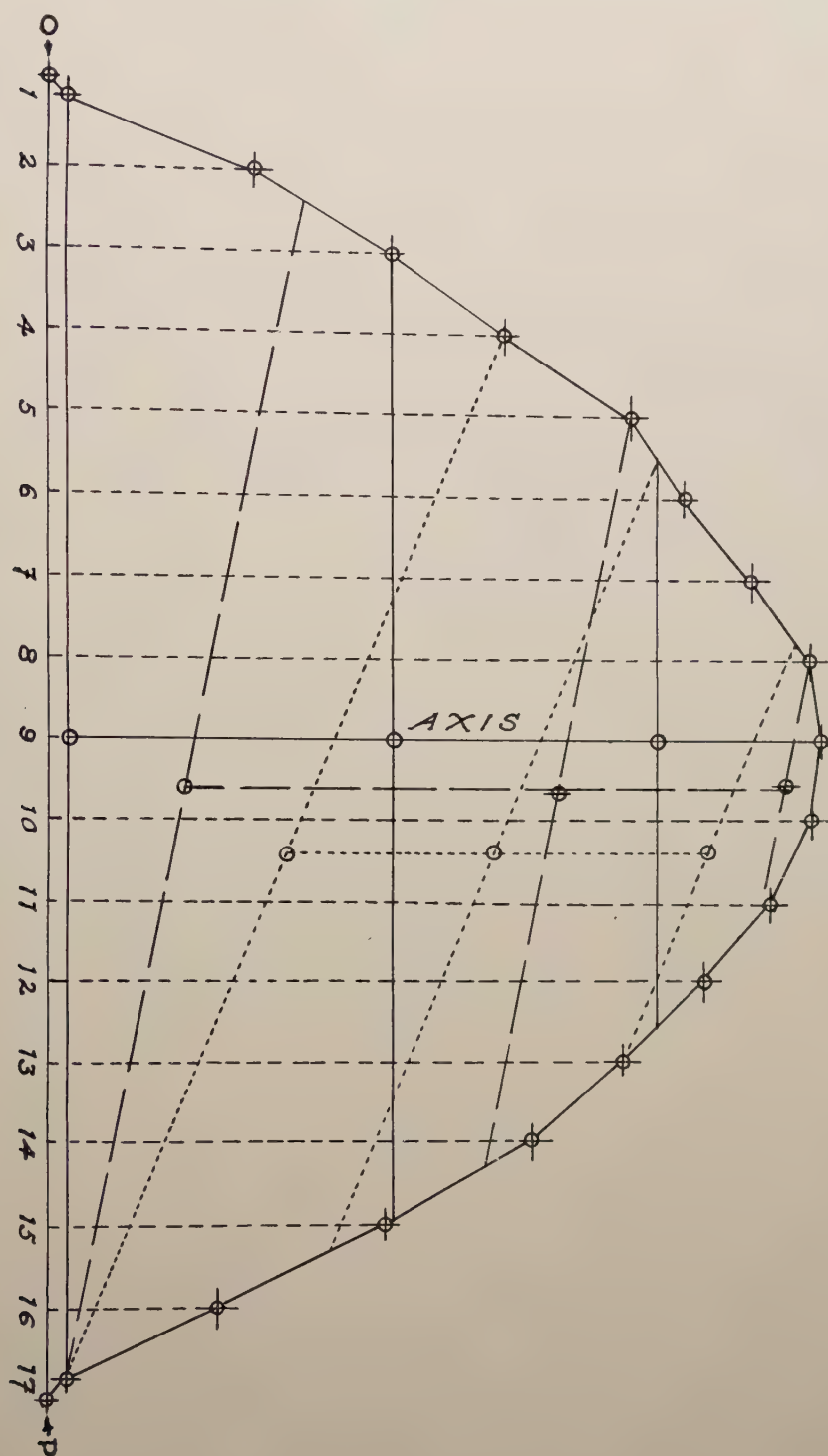


Figure 2



parabola of Figure 2 is then vertical and at the center of the stylobate (cf. Figs. 1 and 2), and further, the maximum rise is vertical and at the center of the stylobate.

In passing, a word may be said about the maximum rise (cf. Figs. 1 and 2). Its amount is 0.103 m. according to calculations from Balanos' drawings, and 0.1025 m. according to Balanos' table of measurements. As an Attic foot of the 5th century B.C. equals 0.328 m., 1 dactyl will equal  $0.328/16$ , or 0.0205 m.; and 5 dactyls will equal  $5 \times 0.0205$  m., or 0.1025 m. This last figure is within half a millimeter of the figure derived from Balanos' drawing, and corresponds exactly to the figure in his table. Surely the maximum rise of the curve was intended to be 5 dactyls of ancient measure and was to occur at the center of the stylobate.

A circle is an ellipse in which the major and minor axes are equal. Therefore, if the curve of the stylobate had been a portion of a big circle, as Professor Caratheodory's article leads one to suppose, and if the horizontal measurements of that big circle be drawn at 1:400, the resulting curve will be a portion of an ellipse—this is schematically represented in Figure 3, where, however, the horizontal distances have been drawn *not* at 1:400 but at 1:2 (1 to 9 equals twice 1' to 9", etc.). Note that the loci of the center points of the parallel chords are not parallel to each other—they pass through a common point (the center of the ellipse) within the curve.

Let us study Figure 3 a little more in detail. We see that the bigger the radius of the circle the farther the center recedes from the apex of the ellipse,  $Q Q' Q''$  and  $R R' R''$  becoming, at the same time, more nearly parallel to each other. The radius of the circle which passes through 1 and 17 is 5662 m. to give a rise of 0.1005 m. (cf. Fig. 4). In other words, the center is so far off, that  $Q Q' Q''$  and  $R R' R''$  (cf. Fig. 3) become practically parallel. In fact the curve is so flat that we cannot say definitely whether the loci of center points of parallel chords are parallel to each other or meet at a point situated within the curve and at a great distance from the apex. We may go even farther and claim that the loci may have met at a point outside the curve, provided the distance of that point from the apex of the curve be very great. The curve in this case is a hyperbola. About all that we can definitely assert is that the curve we are studying is one of the three conic sections. To determine which of the three, we must, we believe, return to Vitruvius and his *scamilli impares*. From him we learn that curves of stylobates were laid out by the method of the *scamilli impares*—a method which is much easier than the method of laying out either an ellipse (including the circle of big radius) or a hyperbola. Vitruvius does not say that he invented the *scamilli impares* method. But there are strong inferences in his treatise to indicate that the method was a tradition, perhaps of long standing. He mentions a host of writers on architecture, and among them Ictinus himself (Vitruvius, VII, intro. 12 and 13). Now, the method of laying out a curve by means of the *scamilli impares* produces a parabola. If, therefore, Ictinus used that method, which seems

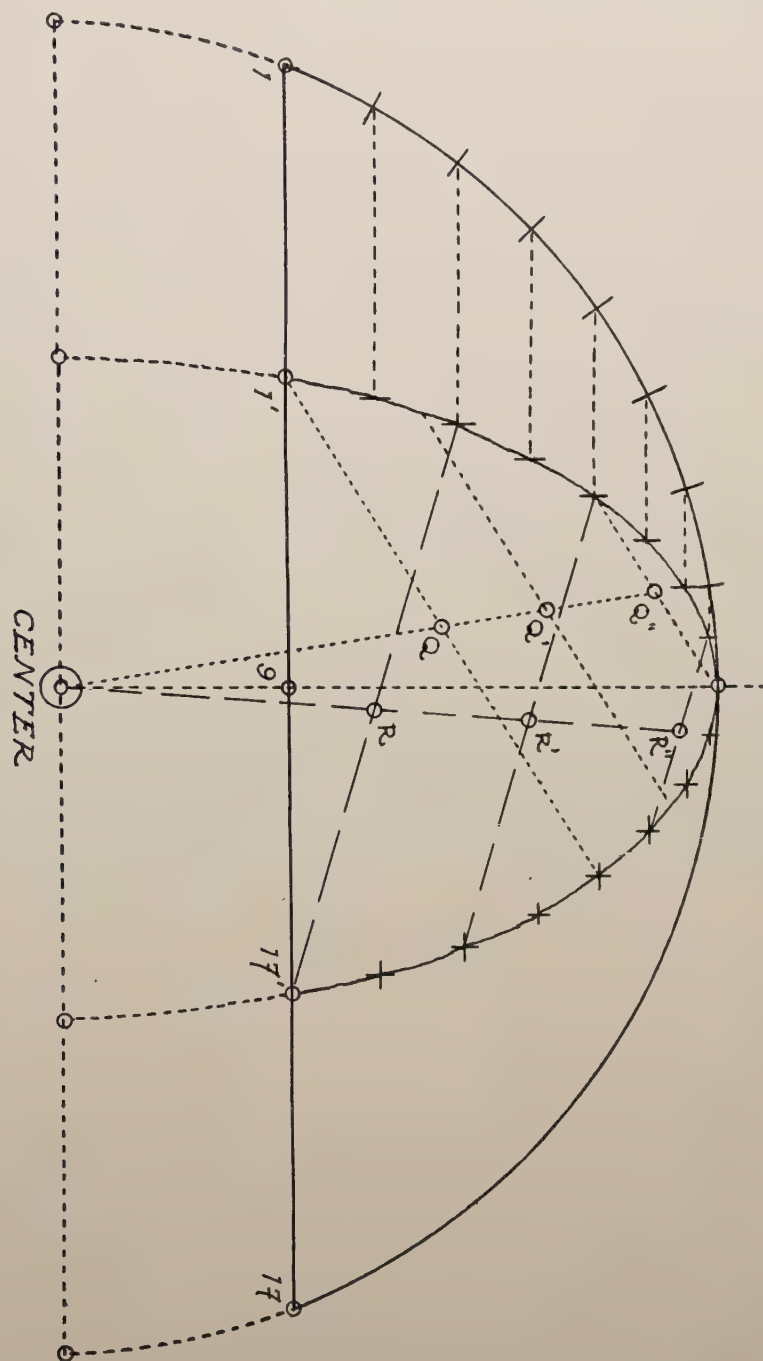


Figure 3.

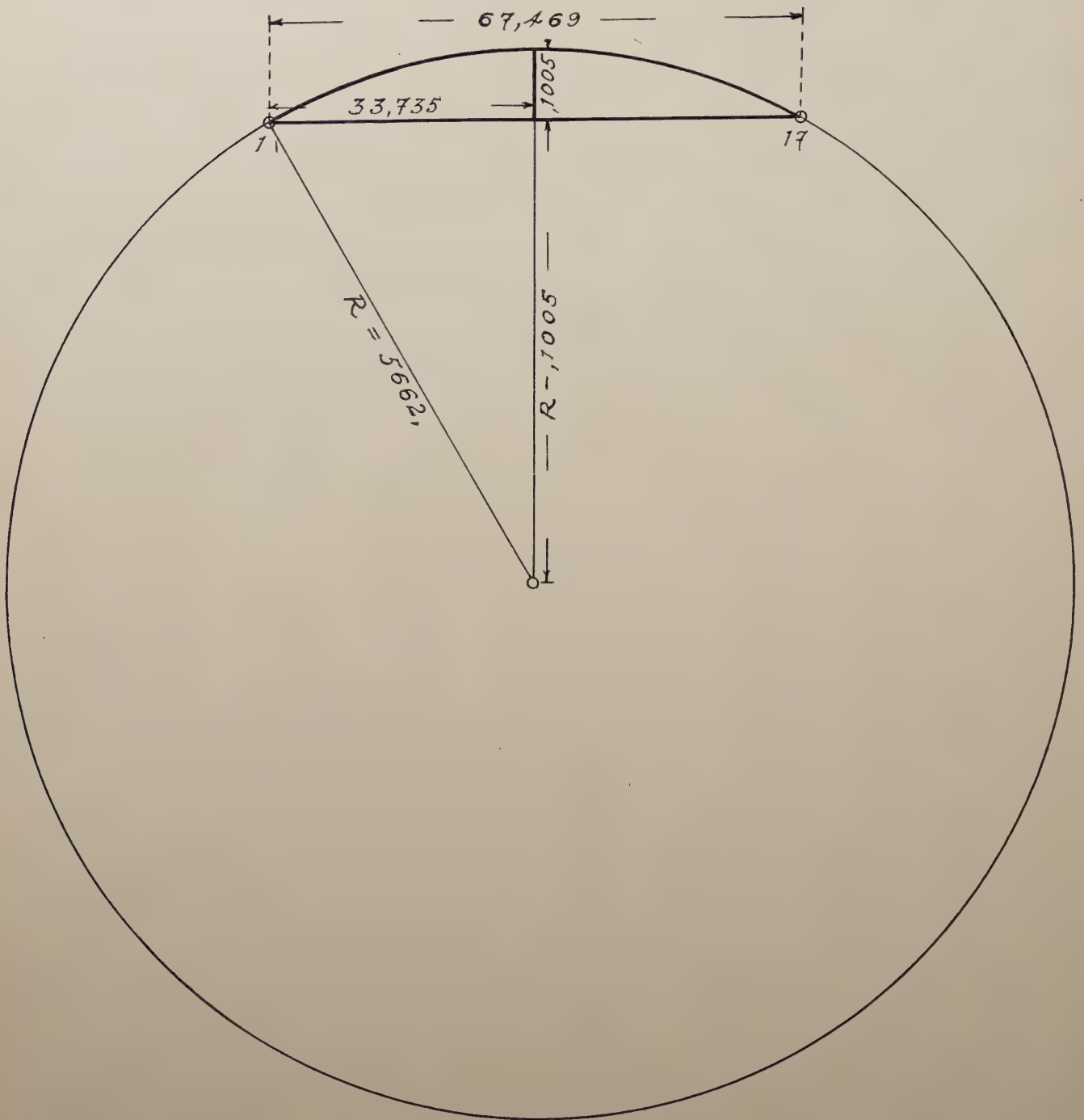


Figure 4



highly probably, then the curve of the north stylobate of the Parthenon was a parabola, as nearly as Ictinus could make it. Whether he *understood* that his curve was a parabola must, the writer believes, remain a matter of speculation. Perhaps all that he knew was that he could obtain his curve easily and quickly by the *scamilli impares* method.

Penrose, as has already been observed, advanced the theory, but without attempting to prove it, that the curve in question was probably a parabola. The writer's investigations make him believe that Penrose was close to the truth.

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# DEMETRIOS OF PHALERON AND HIS LAWGIVING

## I. BACKGROUND

Demetrios of Phaleron was bred in the main tradition of Athenian ethical and political philosophy. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastos: that was his pedigree. Though not as great as his own teacher and friend Theophrastos, Demetrios was a worthy pupil, talented, extremely productive, and varied in his scholarly interests.<sup>1</sup> Had he done nothing but write the books which he wrote, he would have reflected credit on the Peripatos. He did not, however, confine himself to a contemplative life; and in the world of action he surpassed his teachers. Their record in actual contemporary politics notoriously, and perhaps naturally, adds up to very little. Socrates set an example or two of rectitude in action, and otherwise abstained from politics. Plato ineffectually and Aristotle perhaps more importantly exerted some influence, outside Athens, through pupils and friends. Theophrastos, so far as we know, merely administered the school. These philosophers are remembered mostly for their philosophy. Demetrios ruled Athens. In all antiquity he was the most accomplished philosopher actually to rule a state.

A second reason why Demetrios should be taken seriously as a ruling political philosopher is the resources behind him. Theophrastos had made a collection of laws

NOTE. In the course of preparing a paper in the School at Athens in 1933, Mr. Richard Bacon asked Mr. Dow his opinion about the restoration of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1201, line 11. It was impossible at that time to prepare a study of what had seemed at once (rightly or wrongly) to be the inevitable restoration. The problem was assigned to Mr. Travis in a course in epigraphy given at Harvard in 1936. When he arrived independently at the same result, collaboration was agreed upon, and a first draft was prepared. Since that time, several revisions have enabled us to take advantage of various recent publications, especially *Athenian Studies in Honor of W. S. Ferguson* (*Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.*, Suppl. I, 1940), which contains Dr. H. Bloch's related paper on the *Nomoi* of Theophrastos (pp. 355-376). We shall refer to W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London: Macmillan, 1911) as *H.A.* Professor Ferguson has offered helpful suggestions. To Dr. Bloch we owe much in Part IV. We are grateful also to Professor Stanley B. Smith of Bowdoin College for the photograph of the stone, and to Dr. John H. Young, then Norton Fellow of Harvard University, for a squeeze and description of the Eleusis base. The works mentioned in the footnotes will make other studies accessible. D. Cohen, "De Demetrio Phalereo," *Mnemosyne*, LIV, 1926, pp. 88-98 ("continuabitur"), is summary.

<sup>1</sup> Demetrios a pupil of Theophrastos: Diog. Laert., V, 39 and 75; Cicero, *De off.*, I, 1; *De fin.*, V, 19, 54; *Brutus*, 9, 37; and probably of Aristotle also: W. S. Ferguson, *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 268. Demetrios one of the most "productive" Peripatetics of his day: Diog. Laert., V, 80. Variety of interests: *ibid.* (titles of his works). The most learned of the ten orators in the Attic canon: Cicero, *Brutus*, 37; cf. *De orat.*, I, 95; *De rep.*, II, 1.

and had written a work, *Nómoi*,<sup>2</sup> which "was as epoch-making as that of Aristotle on Politics."<sup>3</sup> Our understanding and appreciation of the *Laws* of Theophrastos has recently been enlarged and deepened.<sup>4</sup> The entire resources of the best century of Greek political thinking, and a vast collection of materials on comparative law and institutions, were available to Demetrios, not only through his own education and researches—Demetrios' own works (*infra*, p. 154) prove this—but also through the presence of Theophrastos. Theophrastos was in Athens during the entire decade of Demetrios' rule, and we know that Demetrios set Theophrastos up as a citizen and land-owner, providing the school with a plant of its own.<sup>5</sup> It is altogether probable that Theophrastos had a considerable share in drawing up the code which Demetrios promulgated. The code of Demetrios "was based particularly on the investigations of his teacher."<sup>6</sup>

The best account of Demetrios will be found in Chapter II of Ferguson's *Hellenistic Athens*. Since that chapter was written, the number of extant inscriptions bearing on the date of Demetrios' code has doubled, and the new texts definitely confirm Ferguson's original observations and date (*infra*, pp. 159-165). Knowledge of how to deal with inscriptions has also increased. Historians have been misled, we believe, by epigraphists in regard to the title of Demetrios as lawgiver. The evidence, properly construed, seems to us to favor the notion that he chose the correct title (*infra*, pp. 153-156).

## II. THE ELEUSIS BASE AND THE GENERALSIPS

The inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2971 is currently dated in such a way as to make Demetrios necessarily a *στρατηγός* in the very years when, as we shall see, he was composing the code (317/6-316/5 B.C.).<sup>7</sup> If this is correct, the problem of what title

<sup>2</sup> On the title, see Bloch, *loc. cit.*, p. 357, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ferguson, *H.A.*, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Bloch, *loc. cit.*, pp. 355-376.

<sup>5</sup> Ferguson, *H.A.*, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Ferguson, *H.A.*, p. 40; *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 268. From Aristotle Demetrios got the idea of *nomophylakes*, *gynaikonómoi*, and the abolition of agonistic liturgies (*H.A.*, pp. 44, 45, 57). Demetrios failed to follow Theophrastos' prescription that all transfers of real property should be registered with the state (*H.A.*, p. 43), but even from what is known of Theophrastos' *Nómoi* and Demetrios' code, many close connections can be made out (Ferguson, *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 270). In fact the tradition behind many laws of Demetrios can be traced back through the philosophers (or directly) to Solon.

<sup>7</sup> The common opinion is that Demetrios was general during many of the years 318/7-308/7. A. Krause, *Attische Strategenlisten* (diss. Jena, pub. Weimar, 1914) enters Demetrios under the years 318/7-315/4 (p. 23), but his commentary is cautious (p. 60). W. W. Tarn, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VI (1933), p. 496: "He himself regularly held the office of general till 309." (G. Glotz), P. Roussel, (R. Cohen), *Histoire grecque*, IV, 1 (1938), p. 326, says that Demetrios was "officially [in Athens] strategos." For the similar view of Heuss, *infra*, p. 152, note 26. In one year, 308/7, later than the period involved primarily in the present study, Demetrios was certainly a general (Polyaenus, IV, 7, 6).



he bore as lawgiver is virtually settled: the title was *στρατηγός*. If it is not correct, the title might still have been *στρατηγός*, but other terms must also be considered.

I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 2971

Not stoichedon

*in fronte:*

Ἀθηναίων οἱ τεταγμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου  
ἐν Ἐλευσίνι καὶ Πανάκτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ Φυλῇ τὸν  
στρατηγὸν Δημήτριον Φανοστράτου Φαληρέα  
στεφανώσαντες Δημήτρι καὶ Κόρει ἀνέθηκαν.

*in coronis:*

5 Ἀθηναίων οἱ τεταγμέ νοι Ἐλευσίνι	10 Ἀθηναίων οἱ τεταγμέ νοι ἐμ Πά νάκτῳ	15 Ἀθηναίων οἱ τετα γμένοι ἐπὶ Φυλεῖ	ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμος ἵππαρχή σαντα
20 ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμος στρατη γήσαντα	25 ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμος στρατη γήσαντα	30 ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμος στρατη γήσαντα	οἱ ἱππεῖς ἵππαρ χήσαντα

Σωσίθεος Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησε

*in latere sinistro:*

35 Παναθή  
ναια τὰ μεγά  
λα ἄρματι

Ἐλευσί  
νιοι

*in latere dextro:*

40 Δήλια  
ἄρματι

Ἐρμαῖα  
ἄρματι

The inscription is cut on a base at Eleusis which once bore a statue of Demetrios. Every letter is preserved. It tells us that as general Demetrios has been crowned once each by the garrisons in Eleusis, Panakton, and Phyle, and three times by the Boule and Demos. Possibly this means that the statue and base were erected toward the end of a fourth year as general.<sup>8</sup> More likely the correct number is three, but the exact figure is immaterial.<sup>9</sup>

The base also records a victory in the Delia. Athens lost Delos in 314 B.C., and it has commonly been supposed that in their bitterness the Athenians thereafter omitted mention of festivals held in Delos; hence the generalships would necessarily fall in

<sup>8</sup> On the supposition that the garrisons would crown a general during his year of office, the Boule and Demos only after its expiration. Otherwise only three terms need be represented. Hitherto the number has universally been taken to be four.

<sup>9</sup> The Boule and Demos had crowned him also as hipparchos (lines 16-19), as had the cavalry (lines 32-34). No one has claimed, though it is possible theoretically, that these two awards were for different terms.

the three years, 317/6-315/4, immediately preceding the loss of Delos.<sup>10</sup> The assumptions underlying this reasoning apparently have never been examined. The contention is simply that the revolt of Delos distressed the Athenians (which is doubtless true); that in their distress any mention of a Delian festival was repugnant (which is a different and more doubtful assumption); and further, that they would go so far as to omit mention of a victory by an Athenian at the Delia, thus in effect depriving him of an agonistic crown, though he had only two others (an assumption which seems to us quite improbable).<sup>11</sup>

In view of the report that 360 statues of Demetrios were set up,<sup>12</sup> it has also been assumed that the whole series of some 360 statues, or at least the preserved base, was set up in the period of Demetrios' rule, 318/7-308/7, and that the preserved base records nothing but honors granted in that period. Our first positive report about Demetrios is that he began his political career in 325/4.<sup>13</sup> The year when he was hipparchos was doubtless not long before 325/4, since he was still young in 317. In 323/2, already prominent, he was sent as one of the ambassadors to Antipater and Krateros,<sup>14</sup> and in 318 a death sentence by the democrats<sup>15</sup> again attests his promi-

<sup>10</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, pp. 192, 208.

<sup>11</sup> In any case, the Athenians did not feel so strongly in the matter that they troubled to excise mention of the Delia on the base. The names of festivals *could* be excised: for example, *I.G.*, VII, 47 (Megara). Delos was lost to Athens with the remainder of the empire in 405, but the great Athenian sacrificial calendar which was part of the revised code completed in 401 contained specifications of sacrifices to be offered in Delos (S. Dow, forthcoming publication).

E. Bickerman, "Sur les batailles navales de Cos et d'Andros," *Rev. ét. anc.*, XL, 1938, p. 373, states: "La concurrence politique n'empêchait pas, en général, de cultiver les relations d'ordre religieux." His instances prove that such split relationships did exist, whether "en général" or not. One instance bears directly on the point at hand: "Pourtant, même les Athéniens, qui avaient administré eux-mêmes le temple d'Apollon pendant leur domination à Délos, n'ont pas osé se détourner du dieu quand 'l'île la plus sainte' se fut affranchie de leur tutelle. Le vaisseau de fête qu'équipent les fils de Cécrops continuait d'aborder annuellement le rivage de Délos indépendante" (references in his footnote). The other instances support the general proposition, except perhaps that involving the troublesome problem of the Delphic Soteria of the 240's (cf. G. Daux, "Athènes et Delphes," *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, 1940, p. 52).

Within about a generation after they had lost their prosperity to the Athenians, the Rhodians could nevertheless crown an Athenian athlete (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 87). Whether Demetrios, regent of Athens, could have, or would have, competed in Delos soon after 314 B.C. is, we admit, another question. We think not: such an action would have political and perhaps military aspects.

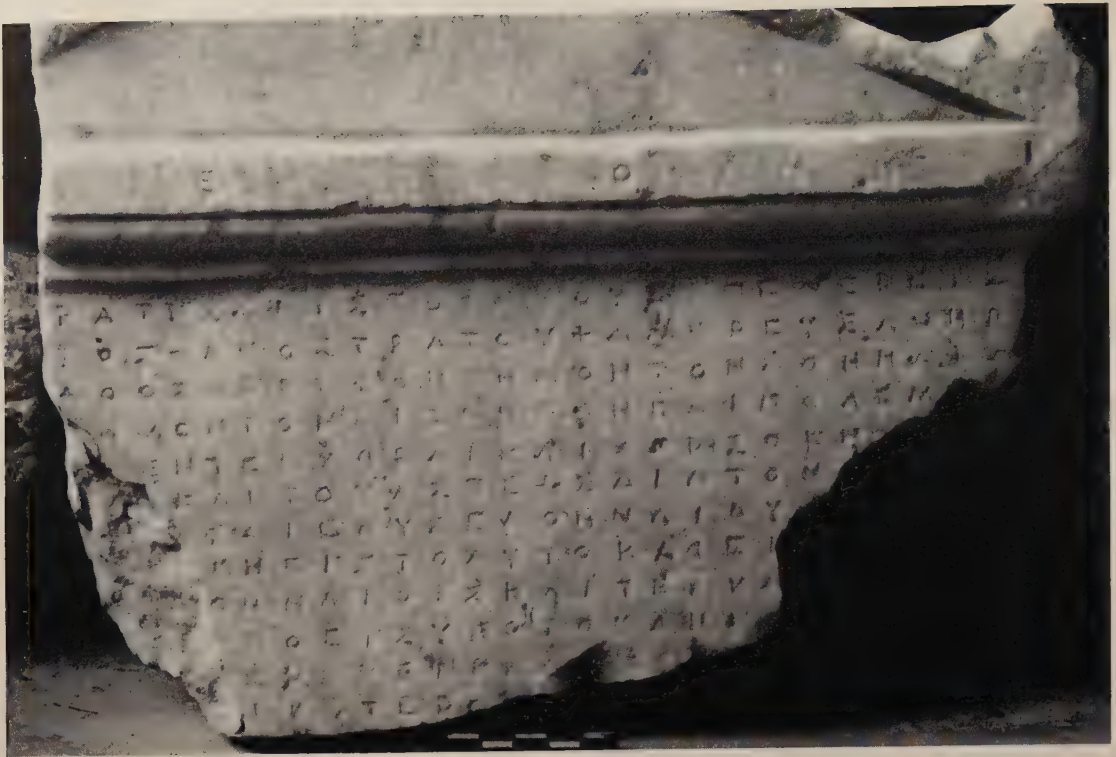
<sup>12</sup> Strabo, IX, 1, 20 (398); Plut., Πολιτικά παραγέσματα (*Præ. ger. reip.*), 27 (820 E); Diog. Laert., V, 5, 1. The actual number of statues set up was doubtless far less than 360. Even admitting a general destruction of them in 307/6 (which the Eleusis base escaped completely and alone), we should have fragments of more, if there had been anything like 360. There is no reason to doubt that they were numerous, perhaps several dozen. For Hadrian about 100 inscriptions, mostly bases, are preserved (*Gnomon*, XI, 1935, p. 636).

<sup>13</sup> Diog. Laert., V, 75: ἀρξασθαι δ' αὐτὸν τῆς πολιτείας --- ὁπότε φυχὼν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀθήνας ἦκεν Ἀρπαλος. For the date, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VI, p. 450 note and references.

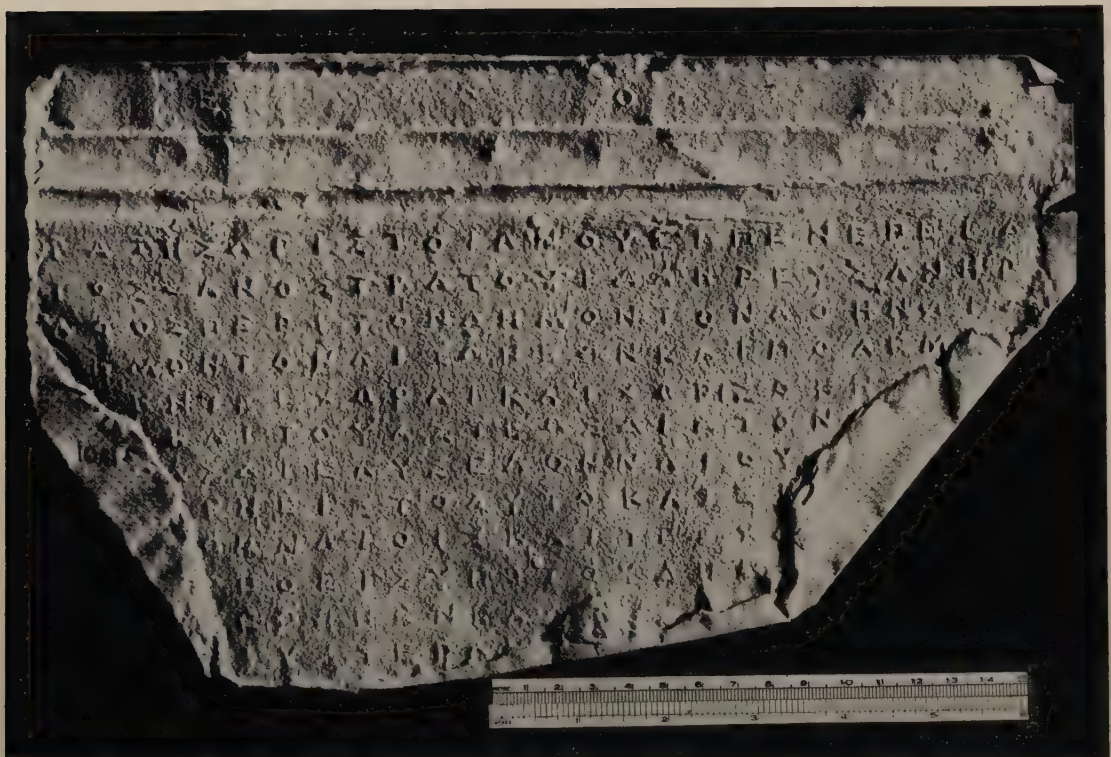
<sup>14</sup> Demetrios, Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 289.

<sup>15</sup> Plut., *Phoc.*, 35; Nepos, *Phoc.*, 3-4.





a



b

Fig. 1. The Decree from Aixone, *I.G.*, II<sup>3</sup>, 1201 (a) with a Photograph from the Squeeze, Reversed (b)



nence. In short, he was one of the leaders of Athens, and consequently was doubtless a general,<sup>16</sup> in all or most of the seven years 325/4-319/8. Obviously the base records all the crowns, military, agonistic, and civil, won by him down to the date of the inscribing. It is highly improbable that Demetrios received no crown between the award for his conduct of a hipparchia in some year before 323/2 and the crown for a (hypothetical but probable) generalship in 318/7. Whether or not the statue was actually set up *early* in his ten-year period of rule is immaterial. That it was not set up *late* in that period is proved by the comparatively small number of crowns: a man who could be reputed later to have received 360 statues would receive more than three crowns from the Boule and Demos.

In sum, the base *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2971 does not establish what office or offices Demetrios held either in 317/6 or in 316/5. His title as lawgiver may still have been *στρατηγός*, but the Eleusis base offers no proof one way or the other.

### III. FORMER RESTORATIONS IN THE DECREE OF AIXONE

The title which Demetrios bore as lawgiver was once authoritatively given in a decree of the deme of Aixone in honor of Demetrios (Fig. 1). The beginning of this decree is somewhat mutilated, but the stoichedon order provides a control over restorations.<sup>17</sup>

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1201

Stoichedon 33

	[Θ]	ε	ο	ί
	[Ἀριστοκ]ράτης Ἀριστοφάνου εἶπεν· ἐπειδ			
	[ἡ Δημήτρ]ιος Φαροστράτου Φαληρεὺς ἀνὴρ			
	[ἐστίν] ἀγ[αθὸς] περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίω			
5	[ν καὶ τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν Αἰζωνέων καὶ πολέμ[ου]			
	[γενομένο]ν ἐν τεί χώραι καὶ χωρισθέντ[ων τ]			
	[οὔ Πειραιῶ]ς καὶ τοῦ ἄστεως διὰ τὸν [πόλεμ]			
	[ον πρεσβεύσ]ας διέλυσε Ἀθηναίου[ς καὶ πά]			
	[λιν ἐπανήγα]γεν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰ[ρήνην π]			
10	[αρεσκεύασε] Ἀ[θηναίοις] καὶ τεί χώ[ραι καὶ]			
	[..... αἰ]ρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[ν τοῦ Ἀθ]			
	[ηναίων νόμου]ς ἔθηκεν καλ[οὺς] [καὶ συμφέρ]			
	[οντας] τεί πόλε[ι]· ὕστερο[ν δὲ -----]			

<sup>16</sup> As in the fifth century, the leader of the state was still normally a general. Phokion was general forty-five times (Plut., *Phoc.*, VIII). The only year in which Demetrios is positively known to have been general is 308/7 (Polyaenus, IV, 7, 6).

<sup>17</sup> The crucial restorations are by Wilhelm. References to this and to all other former editions are in *I.G.*, II, 584 and in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1201, which has an *addendum* (p. 672) on lines 9-10; nu-movable

For the nine-space gap at the beginning of line 11, four different restorations have hitherto been advocated. These four titles have three aspects in common: each of the four is applied to Demetrios (though not to him specifically as lawgiver) by one or more ancient literary sources of one sort or another; none of the sources however gives the title to Demetrios specifically in his capacity as lawgiver; and none of the four titles by itself denotes or connotes lawgiving. We may consider them in ascending order of plausibility, adding for completeness a fifth and sixth, which in this order belong first and second.

ΘΕΣΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ (10 letters). Too long, embodying an antiquated conception of the office, and in fact never advocated as a restoration by modern scholars, this title fulfills only one requirement: the word by itself has the right sort of meaning.

ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ (10 letters). Like the preceding, this term could only be restored on the assumption of an egregious error of the letter-cutter, such as the omission of a letter or the crowding of two letters into one space; and in fact no one has ever advocated restoring ἀναγραφεύς. Yet the term had long been the proper term for the elected redactor of a law code in Athens, and it should at least be mentioned here as fulfilling that important requirement for any restoration.<sup>18</sup>

ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΗΣ (10 letters). There can be no reasonable doubt that the official title of Demetrios as regent of Athens under Macedon was ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως. This is the title given in an apparently authentic summary of the terms which Kassandros made with the Athenians when the city virtually surrendered to him in the

is absent also before alpha in line 8, but present before a palatal mute in line 12. The first letter of line 3 seems to have a stroke at the top, as if to make (erroneously) a tau; but the whole groove may be merely part of a water trickle which continues the dubious stroke in both directions. For the important lines 11-12, only one alternative restoration has ever been made (Koehler's; adopted in Hicks, Michel, and ed. 2 of Dittenberger); it ran thus in Dittenberger:

- |    |                                              |
|----|----------------------------------------------|
| 11 | [ἐπιστάτης αἶρ]εθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμ[ου --- ἀνα] |
| 12 | [θήματα ---- ἀν]έθηκεν κάλ[λιστα -----]      |
| 13 | [----- κ]αὶ ὕστερον [-----]                  |

This restoration has been abandoned in Dittenberger, ed. 3 (no. 318), and universally, in favor of Wilhelm's; rightly, in view of the new sigma read by us at the beginning of line 12—a faint trace but in precisely the right position. In line 13 the alpha and nu were simple errors: no editor who has examined the stone reports seeing either, except that the otherwise very faulty copy by Pittakys includes the nu.

The preserved dimensions suggest a stele large enough for as many as 20 more lines of text (cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 143). The content of these lines, apart from the usual formulae of payment, etc., can only be conjectured. No other preserved decree of a deme honors any known leader of the state, and it may be doubted whether the Aixoneis had any particular reason of their own for so doing. Perhaps they decreed, in the part now missing, a statue to Demetrios on the ground of his services to the state as a whole—one of the numerous statues mentioned in the literary evidence.

<sup>18</sup> See further *infra*, p. 158.

spring of 317, and Demetrios came into power. Demetrios was chosen by Kassandros under an article of the treaty which stated that he was to select one Athenian to be ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς πόλεως.<sup>19</sup>

Considering ἐπιμελητὴς as a restoration in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1201, we note first of all that it exceeds by one letter the number of letter-spaces available for restoration, but Wilhelm<sup>20</sup> observed that in line 6 the iota of χωρισθέντ[ων] stands not in a stoichos, but midway between the two adjacent stoichoi in which rho and sigma are accurately placed. He suggested that the mason sometimes preferred to carve iota—the uniquely thin letter of the Greek alphabet—between stoichoi; hence ἐπιμελητὴς might be restored, on the assumption that the iota was carved, not in one of the nine available spaces, but between the second and third of them. Recently, moreover, R. P. Austin<sup>21</sup> has pointed out that “the instances of the grouping of iota with another letter are so numerous that it would be pointless to attempt a list of them.” Clearly the restoration of ἐπιμελητὴς cannot be excluded on spacial grounds alone. Yet the total number of iotas cut outside their stoichoi is proportionately small. In several years we have come across less than a dozen significant instances; certainly fewer iotas than one in a hundred, perhaps fewer than one in a thousand, are misplaced. In the present inscription 24 iotas preserved on the stone are in their proper stoichoi. Only the one is outside. Hence there is a definite “epigraphical” presumption against restoring ἐπιμελητὴς.

Apart from arguments about space, that restoration must be considered also in its constitutional aspect. As we have seen, the excellent account in Diodorus states clearly that Demetrios was chosen by Kassandros, whereas the inscription is equally clear in saying that in his capacity as lawgiver Demetrios was elected by the Demos of the Athenians. On this ground the restoration ἐπιμελητὴς is virtually excluded, as Ferguson rightly affirmed.<sup>22</sup> The only possible defense for it would be a theory that Demetrios was elected to the non-Athenian office of ἐπιμελητὴς by the Athenians as well as being appointed to that position by Kassandros. This procedure would be farcical and no one has suggested it.

ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣ (9 letters). Among the nine-letter titles which have been suggested, προστάτης was used regularly, as by Aristotle, to denote the leading man of the state. The title was thus appropriate as a general designation of the position occupied by Demetrios in the years 318/7-308/7, and it is not surprising to find that Demochares

<sup>19</sup> Diodorus Siculus again mentions the title ἐπιμελητὴς in XX, 45, 2. Modern authorities agree in accepting this: Ferguson, Tarn, Roussel (see note 7, *supra*); and H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, I (Munich, 1937), pp. 54, 91. For the view of Heuss, see *infra*, p. 152, note 26.

<sup>20</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.*, CLXV, 1903, p. 784.

<sup>21</sup> *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1938), p. 38.

<sup>22</sup> *H.A.*, p. 47, note 5.



(in Polybius, XII, 13, 9) speaks of Demetrios as *προστάτης* in this period. But the position of *προστάτης* was notoriously quite outside the constitution. It seems to us doubtful whether it would even have occurred to an Athenian that a man might be "elected" *προστάτης*.

ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣ (9 letters). Two literary sources, both obviously not striving for accuracy, apply this term or a derivative to Demetrios.<sup>23</sup> It was the common designation of rulers of Greek cities under Macedon.<sup>24</sup> There is, however, no special reason why it should be applied to Demetrios in line 11 of the decree of Aixone,<sup>25</sup> and of course the constitutional reason is decisive against it (*supra*, s. v. *ἐπιμελητής*). In any case, a man who had just been appointed *epimeletes* would hardly be elected *epistates*.

ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ (9 letters). The most plausible restoration hitherto discussed, and the most strongly supported,<sup>26</sup> is *στρατηγός*. The principal consideration in its favor has been the argument, already discussed, which tries to show that Demetrios must have been general in 317/6. We have noticed, however, that the first election of Demetrios to a generalship was almost certainly before 317/6. Hence the decree of Aixone would hardly emphasize his being elected general as late as 317/6; generalships would have been mentioned earlier in the decree, if tenure of that office were a remarkable fact.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Diodorus Siculus, XX, 45, 4 (using only the verb); Strabo, IX, 378.

<sup>24</sup> Heuss, *Stadt*, pp. 31-36, 59-61; Ferguson, *H.A.*, p. 47, note 3; and references.

<sup>25</sup> The only scholar who advocated this restoration, U. Koehler (*I.G.*, II, 584), did so with hesitation; Kirchner deferred to his authority in *P.A.*, 3455.

<sup>26</sup> The prime advocate of *στρατηγός* was De Sanctis (*Studi di storia antica*, II, p. 15, note 1, and p. 16, note 1; cf. Ferguson, *H.A.*, p. 47, note 5). Heuss (*Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus* [*Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, Beiheft 39, N. F. 26; Leipzig, 1937], pp. 53-57, esp. p. 54, note 1) interprets the wording of the Athenian treaty with Kassandros (*καταστήσαι δ' ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς πόλεως ἓνα ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον ὃν ἂν δόξῃ Κασσάνδρῳ· καὶ ἡρέθη Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς*) thus: "The Athenians were to invest with power as governor of the city a single person, an Athenian citizen, whomever Kassandros should select; to this position Demetrios was elected." In other words, the man of Kassandros' choice was elevated to power by the Athenians through formal election. Though this may possibly have happened, it is not to be found in the Greek. *καταστήσαι* does not necessarily mean "elect," and *ἡρέθη* has always been interpreted as meaning "chosen [by Kassandros]." Heuss goes on to define the office which the Athenians voted to Demetrios. It was *not* the position of *ἐπιμελητής*, since that was not an Athenian office and since in the treaty the word *ἐπιμελητής*, according to Heuss, is used in a non-technical sense. Rather, Demetrios was elected *στρατηγός*: "Seinen offiziellen Titel hatte er von dem Amt, zu dem er Jahr für Jahr gewählt wurde; er war *στρατηγός*. So steht es in den öffentlichen Urkunden." The "öffentliche Urkunden" upon which Heuss relies are, of course, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2971 and 1201.

The general thesis of Heuss is doubtless sound. In the Hellenistic world the Macedonian overlords controlled the individual city-states through the constitutional machinery already established in those states. A governor usually had his henchmen (or even himself) elected to the controlling offices of the city-state and thus was able to rule constitutionally. The forms were observed even though garrisons were present. But that Heuss should attempt to make Demetrios serve to illustrate this thesis is unfortunate.

<sup>27</sup> Since about the middle of the fourth century, five of the generals had been elected to specific

## IV. A RESTORATION NOT HITHERTO ADVOCATED

NOMOΘΕΤΗΣ (9 letters). If Demetrios had been an unschooled adventurer of the type of many fourth-century tyrants and *condottieri*, there would be no point to the present study. Such a person, if he gave laws at all, would naturally impose his law code without weighing carefully the constitutional and political implications of the various titles which he might adopt to denote his office as lawgiver. In fact he would probably give laws simply by virtue of whatever office he already held—"general" or "superintendent"—without adopting any special title appropriate for a lawgiver. This is really what has often been assumed with regard to Demetrios. The assumption has been tacit, and we are not convinced that attention has ever been focussed upon precisely this aspect.<sup>28</sup>

Surely no argument is needed to prove that the basis of this assumption is incorrect. We have noted how closely he followed his teachers when he drew up his code. Of all ancient lawgivers, none would be more inclined than Demetrios of Phaleron to select his title—or rather, to dignify himself by the proper "style"—as lawgiver. A scholar who had spent years in the Peripatetic School, who had doubtless known Aristotle and who had been trained by Theophrastos; an antiquarian whose studies reached back to Solon; a researcher who had worked upon and added to the great *Corpus* of legal matter accumulated in the School would hardly contemplate, in this connection, such titles as "superintendent" or "general." The mere thought of such a *gaucherie* would have repelled him.<sup>29</sup>

posts, among them the one ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις. In the course of centuries this post eventually acquired as great prestige as any in the state. Whether in the time of Demetrios it carried special prestige is unknown,—probably it did, since Aristotle mentions it first ('Αθ. Πολ., 61),—but in any case Demetrios could hardly have been elected hoplite general in a year when he was to give laws, since the sphere of the hoplite general was specifically *foreign* wars (*ibid.*). (The history of the generalships was first made out by Ferguson, in *Klio*, IX, 1909, 314-323; summary in Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde* [Müllers *Handbuch*], München, 1926, pp. 1121-1124.) For what it is worth, we may note that it was not Demetrios but another general (Thymochares of Sphettos) who led an expedition against the pirate Glauketes in 315/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 682) and again to aid Kassandros in 313/2; in that year Thymochares succeeded another Athenian general in command of a foreign expedition, one Aristoteles (*H.A.*, pp. 50, 51). Of course Thymochares can have been among the five unassigned generals. Furthermore, since in one year Demetrios was honored by the garrisons, he was probably not hoplite general in that year; but rather στρατηγὸς ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος.

Recently H. Bengtson has compared the position of Demetrios under Kassandros to that of Phokion under Antipatros (*Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, I: *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung*, XXVI [München, 1937], pp. 54, 91, 234). It is claimed that Phokion was hoplite general (Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup>, IV, 1, p. 77), but this is merely an hypothesis. If it were true, it would not render more probable the notion that Demetrios gave laws as general in charge of foreign expeditions. Bengtson, however, does not deal with the lawgiving or with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1201.

<sup>28</sup> Of course, if the assumption were correct, there would be no possibility, on our present evidence, of determining what title Demetrios held as lawgiver; and further, the title, if discovered, would give no helpful indication as to the spirit of the code as a whole.

<sup>29</sup> Recently two French scholars have characterized Demetrios and his work. Roussel says



Accordingly the possibility should at least be considered that Demetrios chose to be called *νομοθέτης*.<sup>30</sup> In the simple decree of Aixone it fits the space, the sense, and the wording [καὶ νομοθέτης αἰ]ρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων νόμου]ς ἔθηκεν καλ[οὺ]ς [καὶ συμφέροντας τῇ πόλει]ι; for the wording, cf. Plato, *Rep.*, 497 D, ὁ νομοθέτης — — — τοὺς νόμους ἐτίθει. As the title of a work in five books describing his own lawgiving, Demetrios chose *Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι νομοθεσίας*.<sup>31</sup> His assumption of power was peaceful (Plut., *Lyc.*, 23) and his ten years of supremacy seem to have been entirely free of strife and bloodshed. Demetrios was “mild, urbane, and conciliatory” (*H.A.*, p. 54), as a pupil of Aristotle ought to be. Such changes as Demetrios made in the framework of the government—the limitation of the franchise to those possessing 1000 drachmai (the upper four-sevenths of the population), the creation of *νομοφύλακες* and *γυναικονόμοι*—were conservative.<sup>32</sup> His constitution was doubtless put forward as being *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*.<sup>33</sup> He could even claim to have restored the democracy;<sup>34</sup> and actually in admitting to citizenship persons who possessed more than 1000 drachmai, Demetrios had gone below the zeugite limit (2000) which the oligarchy of 322-319 had set (*H.A.*, p. 25). His own great interest in a new code for Athens is proved by the fact that it was the first big job he undertook after being established in power (*infra*, pp. 159, 165). His seriousness in government is illustrated

his legislation was inspired by a doctrinaire spirit (in G. Glotz, *Hist. gr.*, IV, 1, p. 327); L. Robert cites Lykourgos and Demetrios as illustrating a current of traditionalism, of patriotic and religious archaism, in the last third of the fourth century B.C. (*Études épigr. et philol.*, p. 316). The view of Robert was already set forth in more detail by Ferguson (*H.A.*, pp. 87, 102-103). Both characterizations have considerable validity. According to either, incorrectness in a title would be abhorrent to Demetrios.

<sup>30</sup> Ferguson admitted it as a possibility (*H.A.*, p. 48). In 1877 R. Schoell suggested that Demetrios was officially *νομοθέτης* during his whole rule (*Commentationes Philologicae in hon. T. Mommsen*, p. 470). Schoell does not mention the inscription.

<sup>31</sup> *F. Gr. Hist.*, 228, T, 1 and 11 = Diog. Laert., V, 80, and Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis*, 32. Demetrios wrote six other works on laws and government (Diog. Laert., *loc. cit.*, titles 2, 3, 4, 5, 21, 32).

<sup>32</sup> Meritt has shown good reason for believing that the secretary named in decrees was not the one-year secretary of the Boule who for some three decades had been named in the preambles of decrees (this office was abolished), but probably the secretary of the prytaneis, who of course changed with every prytany (Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 1-7, esp. p. 7, note 24). This was a reversion to the practice of the years before 356/5. Pritchett and Meritt hold that the Priests of Asklepios continued throughout Demetrios' term to rotate in the regular tribal order: specific evidence is lacking, but there is no reason to doubt it (*The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 11, 75-76, 81). There is some evidence that under Demetrios the Secretaries of the Treasurers of Athena did not continue to rotate in the official order of the tribes (Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 144, note 3).

<sup>33</sup> The oligarchy of 322-319 had also claimed to govern according to the principles of Solon (Diodorus, XVIII, 18, 5; *H.A.*, p. 25).

<sup>34</sup> Strabo (IX, 1, 20 = C 398): Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα — — — ὃς οὐ μόνον οὐ κατέλυσε τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηνόρθωσε. δηλοὶ δὲ τὰ ὑπομνήματα, ἃ συνέγραψε περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης ἐκείνος [Demetrios].



by the general tenor of his rule, by his rigid observance of the amnesty under which he began, and by such particular circumstances as his refraining for seven years from holding the archonship.<sup>35</sup> To the office as holder of which he gave laws, Demetrios was elected ([αἰ]ρεθείς) by a body which the Aixoneis could call the "demos of the Athenians" (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1201, lines 11-12). This of course was the ekklesia, which four-sevenths of the Athenians were eligible to attend. Yet the comparative inactivity of this body under Demetrios warns us that his title cannot be determined by general reasons alone.<sup>36</sup>

Demetrios himself, in his *Socrates*, used the word νομοθετῶν to describe his activity as lawgiver. The reference is to the mother and aunt of a poor grandson of Aristides: τῇ δὲ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ ταύτης ἀδελφῇ ψήφισμα γράψας [Δημήτριος] ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον τροφὴν διδόναι τριώβολον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας. αὐτὸς μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δημήτριος νομοθετῶν ἀντὶ τριωβόλου δραχμὴν ἐκατέρα τάξαι τῶν γυναικῶν (Plutarch, *Aristides*, XXVII, 3).

H. Bloch has pointed out to us another reference which has escaped notice in this connection. It is a passage in the characterization of Demetrios which his fellow-student and enemy Duris has left us. After presenting a picture of the extravagances of Demetrios, Duris continues: καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις τιθέμενος θεσμούς Δημήτριος καὶ τοὺς βίους τάττων ἀνομοθέτητον ἑαυτῷ τὸν βίον κατεσκεύαζεν.<sup>37</sup> Interest centers in the word ἀνομοθέτητον. In Duris' time, this was a relatively new word, created by Plato in his later years to denote aspects of life which are not regulated by legislation. It occurs in five passages in the *Laws*, one of which is the following: ὅστις δὴ διανοεῖται πόλεσιν ἀποφαίνεσθαι νόμους, πῇ τὰ δημόσια καὶ κοινὰ αὐτοὺς χρὴ ζῆν πράττοντας, τῶν δὲ ἰδίων ὅσον ἀνάγκη μηδὲ οἶεται δεῖν, ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἐκάστοις εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ζῆν ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ, καὶ μὴ πάντα διὰ τάξεως δεῖν γίνεσθαι, προέμενος δὲ τὰ ἴδια ἀνομοθέτητα, ἡγείται τὰ γε κοινὰ καὶ δημόσια ἐβελήσειν αὐτοὺς ζῆν διὰ νόμων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς διανοεῖται.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Tenure of the archonship by Demetrios could be and doubtless was accomplished constitutionally by the absence or withdrawal of other candidates (W. S. Ferguson, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 234). Along with several bits of scandalous gossip, Diogenes Laertius says Demetrios failed to appear in court when charged with murder. Was this a deliberate fiction intended to suggest a contrast with Peisistratos, who was said to have answered a similar summons (the accuser on that occasion tactfully absenting himself: Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 16)?

<sup>36</sup> The only decrees which can now be assigned to the decade of Demetrios are *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 450 of 314/3, 451 of 313/2, 453 of 310/9, and probably 449 of 318/7 (Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. 1). It must be remembered that these are decrees *published*; possibly many were passed, but Demetrios *may* have discouraged public monuments of marble as he did private, though to be sure the public stelae were cheap. It is also to be remarked that the ekklesia *did* continue to function. Making these allowances, however, we must surmise that legislative activity was less than under the pure democracy.

<sup>37</sup> Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, 76F 10.

<sup>38</sup> VI 780A. The other four passages containing ἀνομοθέτητος are VI 781A, 783B, 785A, and VIII 846C. All relate to the present argument.

Plato here enunciates the thesis that the legislator must not leave matters of private life *ἀνομοθέτητα*, and it was just this doctrine of Plato's that Demetrios followed in his sumptuary legislation. Duris' allusion is now clear. The legislator follows the teachings of his master in not leaving the private affairs of others *ἀνομοθέτητα*, but leads a life of his own which is wholly *ἀνομοθέτητον*. The important point is that Duris' use of this Platonic word (in place of e. g., *ἄνομος*) would have been without real meaning *if* Demetrios had not posed as the Platonic legislator incarnate and had not actually borne the title—suggested by the Platonic tradition—of *νομοθέτης*. That Duris is punning on Demetrios' Athenian title is confirmed by the sentence which follows the passage quoted above: *ἐπεμελείτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως, τὴν τε τρίχα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξανθίζόμενος, κτλ.* Here Duris is surely indulging in a play on Demetrios' title as Macedonian overlord (*ἐπιμελητής*). Here too the element of contrast is strong and provides a sort of grim humor: the mighty *ἐπιμελητής* expends his energies on the beautification of his person. If Duris' account contained only one of these words (i. e., *ἀνομοθέτης* or *ἐπιμελείτο*), we should perhaps hesitate before recognizing a *double-entendre*; but the presence of two, both of which gain real force only through such an interpretation, leaves no room for doubt.

A certain tradition which reached Syncellus knew Demetrios as a *νομοθέτης*: Syncellus writes: *Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐγνωρίζετο τρίτος νομοθέτης Ἀθήνησιν.*<sup>39</sup> In view of the evidence as a whole, it seems indubitable that the tradition seen in Syncellus preserved the technical title, and that in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1201, line 11, the restoration should be *νομοθέτης*.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> 521; *Corp. Hist. Gr. Byz.*, pp. 273B, 274D. Solon would certainly be one of the others, but the third cannot be precisely determined. Probably not Theseus: he was thought of as a founder of institutions, not as the author of a quotable code (Plut. *Theseus*, *passim*). Possibly Kleisthenes, although his measures may have been not *νόμοι* but *ψηφίσματα* in form (Wade-Gery, *Class. Quart.*, XVII, 1933, pp. 20-21). Thought on this subject earlier was loose: Lysias, XXX, 28 names Solon, Themistokles, and Perikles as the previous *νομοθέται*. Draco is of course the most plausible candidate: his *θεσμοί* were a by-word for their severity. The traditional body of laws was thought of (Andocides, I, 81-82) as being the work of Draco and Solon, and indeed some (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 115) of Draco's code, reënacted in 411-401, stood in the Agora as part of the laws of Athens re-codified in those years. On the reputation of Draco, and on the names of lawgivers coupled with his name, see A. C. Schlesinger, *Classical Philology*, XIX, 1924, pp. 370-373.

<sup>40</sup> In Egypt later Demetrios again gave laws probably under the same title: *νομοθεσίας ἡρξέ* (Aelian, III, 17). Some, probably many, of the laws which he promulgated in Egypt were the same as those which he had promulgated in Athens (Ferguson, *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 276).

In an article on "Die Nomotheten und die Legislative in Athen" (*Klio*, XXXI, 1938), Kahrstedt remarks (p. 5, note 3), "Wenn *I.G.* II<sup>2</sup> 1201, 11 ff. Demetrios von Phaleron gerühmt wird wegen der *νόμοι οὓς ἔθηκε*, ist seine Stellung als Epimelet von Athen und sein realer Einfluss auf die Gesetzgebung gemeint, keine Stellung als Nomothet, weder im Sinne des Solon noch in dem des 4. Jahrh.; Plut. Demetr. 24 ist davon die Rede, dass alle Erlasse des Poliorketen für Athen Gesetzeskraft bekamen, sicher übertrieben, was das formale Recht angeht, und ohne Bezug zu unserem Thema." About Poliorketes this pronouncement may well be correct, but the alleged parallel between him and the Phalerian is surely imperfect. Poliorketes was worshipped as a god,

## V. FACTORS IN CHOOSING THE TITLE

Some reconstruction ought to be possible of the reasoning followed by Demetrios when he came to decide what title he should adopt as lawgiver. His desire was to conform to the best practice: very well, he had only to ask what title the great lawgivers of the past had held, and to consult the usage established in more recent times. Assuredly an answer would be easy.

Theseus had been king, but βασιλεύς of course was out of the question. Aristotle believed that Draco had legislated as thesmothetes,<sup>41</sup> but that title also now denoted an officer of different powers. Demetrios wrote an Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφή<sup>42</sup> and doubtless he knew that Solon had held the office of (senior, eponymous) ἄρχων.<sup>43</sup> The archonship, however, like the office of βασιλεύς and θεσμοθέτης, likewise had long since ceased to have powers of this sort, and to revive them would be equally revolutionary. As to what office, if any, was held by Kleisthenes, we do not know, and probably Demetrios too was ignorant. The best guess is perhaps that he held no office, but merely that he put forward his reforms as a private citizen, in the shape of ψηφίσματα.<sup>44</sup> For Demetrios to have done so would probably have seemed straightforward tyranny. Thus the titles of the great lawgivers of the distant past gave Demetrios no help whatever.

Constitutional practice in the recent past was another matter. Broadly speaking, recent lawmaking, from 411/10 on, had been in the hands of boards of νομοθέται.<sup>45</sup> The nomothetic procedure had been a special study of Demetrios' own teacher Theophrastos; Aristotle himself had deferred to Theophrastos on the subject.<sup>46</sup> Hence Demetrios was in full possession of the facts; and if he wished to consult Theophrastos, Theophrastos was at hand in Athens.

and his will probably was conceded to have the force of law, i. e., of ψηφίσματα and of νόμοι. To give his will the force of ψηφίσματα, however, was to make him a tyrant. The Phalerian was not worshipped; unless we have misinterpreted his whole attitude, he was far from being or from wishing to be in any formal sense a tyrant. To have himself elected to the position which Solon had held was a quite different matter (see the following section). Kahrstedt fails to discuss the restoration in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1201, line 11.

<sup>41</sup> Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 4, 1-2; cf. Sandys' note. Adcock has conjectured (*Camb. Hist. Journ.*, II, 1927, p. 99) that "Draco may quite well have been Basileus or invested with extraordinary powers limited in time and in scope." We prefer the latter alternative. The exact title is probably unknowable.

<sup>42</sup> Diog. Laert., I, 22; omitted from the list in V, 80-81.

<sup>43</sup> Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 5, 2.

<sup>44</sup> Wade-Gery, *Class. Quart.*, XXVII, 1933, pp. 20-21.

<sup>45</sup> General account: Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 1011-1013. In more detail: U. Kahrstedt, *Klio*, XXXI, 1938, pp. 1-32.

<sup>46</sup> H. Bloch, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 367-376.



In the earlier part of the fifth century, there had been boards of *συγγραφεῖς*.<sup>47</sup> Autocratic and objectionable, they had been replaced, at least from 411 B.C. on, by large (usually 501 or 1001) boards of *νομοθέται*. To assist such boards, or to do a more extensive job extending over a period of years, the normal procedure at times had been to appoint a smaller board of *ἀναγραφεῖς* of whom one (such as Nikomachos) had been recognized as the responsible head.<sup>48</sup> The title *ἀναγραφεὺς* would therefore seem to have been the logical constitutional term for Demetrios.<sup>49</sup> In its historical usage, however, *ἀναγραφεὺς* denoted an official whose laws might be suggested, criticized, and voted upon by others, whereas the present code was to be laid down in final form by Demetrios alone. Against *ἀναγραφεὺς* there were probably two additional reasons in Demetrios' mind. One was that the title had just been used under the oligarchy of 322/1-319/8 for the secretary who during that regime had replaced the Secretary of the Boule as the official responsible for the final version of decrees.<sup>50</sup> Demetrios had no intention of being confused with clerks. A second reason was that the word itself had the wrong meaning: his code was to be no mere *redaction*, it was rather a new creation. In sum, Demetrios could find no clear guidance in Athenian constitutional usage.<sup>51</sup>

This being so, Demetrios could safely turn where his first inclination had probably directed him, to his masters in philosophy. Their thoughts and their usage pointed with practical unanimity to *νομοθέτης*. The word is frequent in Plato. In the *Politicus*, it is used throughout to designate the "kingly-lawgiver"; of especial significance is the passage (294A) *τρόπον τινὰ μέντοι δῆλον ὅτι τῆς βασιλικῆς ἔστιν ἡ νομοθετική*; cf. also 295B; 305. Throughout the *Republic*, *νομοθέτης* is applied to the ideal lawgiver of the ideal state: cf. 427A, 429E, 530C, 538D, etc. In the *Laws*, it is the name given to the legislator: he appears frequently, cf. 660A, 709D, 801D, 835A, 964B,

<sup>47</sup> W. S. Ferguson in *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, V, p. 374, note 1.

<sup>48</sup> In 410-401 B.C.: Lysias, XXX, 2 *et passim*.

<sup>49</sup> Thus Ferguson (*H.A.*, p. 47, note 5), writing at a time when the situation as to the restoration of *στρατηγός* and *ἐπιμελητής* was still confused.

<sup>50</sup> Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens* (1931), p. 28.

<sup>51</sup> A sufficient proof that Demetrios did not feel that the democratic procedure of 411-323 was his proper model, and that popular opinion did not regard his work as patterned upon democratic procedure, consists in the fact that the radical democracy of 307/6 B.C. appointed a board of *nomothetai* to revise the laws (Alexis in Athenaeus, XII, 92 = 610E). They were still at work in 304/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 487 honors one Eukharchos for his leading part in the *ἀναγραφή*). There is no assurance that this board was as large as those of the fourth century; since it carried out a time-consuming and doubtless extensive revision, made necessary for the democrats by the thorough work of Demetrios, the comparison should be made rather with the board (*anagrapheis*) of 410-401 B.C., in which also one man (Nikomachos) took a prominent part.

Whether the nomothetic process was kept distinct from the ordinary passing of *psephismata* in later times, our only references do not tell us. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 834: Eurykleides is praised ca. 225 B.C. because he *εἰσήνεγκεν δὲ καὶ νόμους* ---, and similarly Kephisodoros in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 422, no. 15 of 196/5, *τεθγκὼς δὲ καὶ νόμους συμφέροντας ἐφ' ὁμονοίαι πάντων Ἀθηναίων*.

etc.<sup>52</sup> Νομοθέτης is also Aristotle's term. The *Politics* is particularly significant: cf. 1274 B 36, 1288 B 27, 1325 A 7, 1326 A 4; here the doublet ὁ πολιτικός καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης or the equivalent is usual; when a distinction is to be made, however, ὁ πολιτικός becomes the practical politician, who may be the victim of serious defects, but ὁ νομοθέτης is the true lawgiver in the highest sense of the word and is treated by Aristotle with the greatest respect: cf. note on 1288 B 27 in Newman's edition of the *Politics*. We have already seen that Theophrastos used the term as the title of a book which presumably dealt with the great lawgivers of the past.

Altogether there can be no reasonable doubt that Demetrios interpreted the masters to mean that one of the first duties of a philosopher upon securing power was to become a νομοθέτης. The fact that he was the sole holder of this position and that the whole process was different would distinguish him sufficiently from the large democratic boards of νομοθέται.

## VI. BOUNDARY-STONES<sup>53</sup>

In 1911, when Ferguson sought to establish the date of Demetrios' code by means of dated boundary-stones,<sup>54</sup> there were 12 such ὄροι to consider: they yielded a clear verdict, viz., that the Code went into effect in 315/4 B.C. Now there are 22, and they should be scrutinized even if they point to the same date.

In the following list, square brackets indicate that the date has been wholly or partially restored. Items not on Ferguson's list are italicized. All numbers not preceded by abbreviations are references to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>; thus 2654 means *I(nscriptiones) G(raecae)*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2654. An asterisk indicates that the inscription is discussed in the Commentary which follows the tables. Exact dates for boundary-stones of the third century are of no consequence for this study: solely because they give convenient references, I repeat Pritchett's and Meritt's dates as given in their *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*. For divergent dates, see W. S. Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, and W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archon List*.

<sup>52</sup> It is worth noting that probably none of Demetrios' predecessors in philosophy would have sanctioned the notion of a general, as general, giving laws. An apposite text could have been found in Plato, *Politicus*, 305a, οὐκ ἄρα πολιτικὴν θήσομεν, ὑπηρετικὴν γε οὔσαν, τὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπιστήμην.

<sup>53</sup> Professor J. V. A. Fine of Princeton University has generously informed us of the pertinent results of his study of the ὄροι found in the Agora, which he will publish. Dr. A. E. Raubitschek of Yale University made the drawing of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2656. Both these colleagues also contributed helpful suggestions.

<sup>54</sup> *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 265.

## DATED BOUNDARY-STONES

DATE	INSCRIPTIONS	DATE	INSCRIPTIONS
[—]-363/2 B.C.	2654*	302/1	2657
316/5	FERGUSON'S DATE FOR THE PROMUL- GATION OF DEMETRIOS' CODE	301/0	Agora I 5579 (unpublished)
315/4	2725; 2726; 2744; 2745	291/0	'Αρχ. Δελτ., XIV, 1935, παρ- άρτημα, pp. 31-32, no. 3
314/3	I.G., XII, Supplement (1939), p. 147, no. 18; * I.G., XII, 8, no. 19; * [2724]*.	ca. 272/1	[2655]*
313/2	2680; 2762 (?)*	ca. 267/6	Agora I 5873 (unpublished)
312/1	2727	265/4	[2656]*
309/8-308/7	<i>Hesperia</i> , X, 1941, pp. 54- 55, no. 18.	ca. 260/59 ?	[ <i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 65, no. 57, with revision in <i>Hesperia</i> , XI, 1942, p. 313]*
305/4	2678; 2679	228/7	2630* p. 163, n. 55.

Ferguson also noted that the phrase specifying with whom a copy of the contract was deposited (*κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς κειμένας παρὰ τοῦ δέινος*) is not known on *ὄροι* before 316, but is regular, though not invariable, after that date. The list now reads:

## BOUNDARY-STONES MENTIONING CONTRACTS

DATE	INSCRIPTIONS	ARCHON
315/4	2725; 2726	Praxiboulos
314/3	I.G., XII, Supplement (1939), p. 147, no. 18; * I.G., XII, 8, no. 19; * [2724]*	Nikodoros
312/1	2727	Polemon
fin. s. IV	2701	(no archon named)
	2741	(no archon named)
	2758*	(no archon named)
	2759	(beginning lost)
	2769	(beginning lost)
291/0	'Αρχ. Δελτ., XIV, 1935, παράρτημα, pp. 31-32, no. 3	Aristonymos

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2741, 2758, 2759, and 2769 are not dated by Kirchner, but such evidence on letter-forms and persons as he gives indicates that all belong in the fourth century B.C.

Those boundary-stones follow of which a text is complete or virtually complete and which have no mention of any copy of the contract deposited with a person.



## BOUNDARY-STONES NOT MENTIONING CONTRACTS

DATE	INSCRIPTIONS	DATE	INSCRIPTIONS
ca. 350 B.C.	2723	302/1	2657
315/4	2744	301/0	Agora I 5579 (unpublished)
313/2	2680; 2762 (?)*	ca. 267/6	Agora I 5873 (unpublished)
309/8-308/7	<i>Hesperia</i> , X, 1941, pp. 54-55, no. 18	ca. 260/59	[ <i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 65, no. 57, with revision in <i>Hesperia</i> XI, 1942, p. 313]*
305/4	2678; 2679		

## COMMENTARY

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2654. No squeeze is available. We assume that the tall phi recorded for line 9 is a meaningless vagary on the part of the stonecutter: it cannot be an indication of Roman date, since the orthography is fourth century B.C. The text records two transactions. The stone is broken away at the top, and the formula of dating has been restored: with some justification, namely that ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδ[ο | ἄρ]χοντος δὲ in lines 11-12 implies a date in the first part. It is easy to imagine, however, that originally, like all other known boundary-stones dating before 316/5 B.C., the first text contained no date; then, that a subsequent transaction took place, in 363/2, and was dated precisely in order to distinguish it from the first. At this time a date may or may not have been inscribed at the beginning of the first.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2655. The only possible restoration of the dating is ἐπὶ Εὐβ[ού-  
λου] | ἄρχοντο[ς], but Euboulos was the name not only of the archon of 345/4 but also of at least one archon of *med. s.* III (most recently dated 272/1: Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, p. XIX). It was this latter Euboulos who was preferred by Koehler, and Ferguson accepted his verdict. Kirchner, apparently without considering Ferguson's dating of the code, reverted to the earlier Euboulos on the ground of lettering. Raubitschek has examined a squeeze and his verdict, resting on the fact that in the sigmas the top and bottom strokes are nearly parallel, is for the third century (*per litt.*; and *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 313, note 74). The lower part of the stone is broken away so that quite possibly a second date, as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2654, was mentioned in the part now missing.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2656. Kirchner reports that the surviving part of the archon's name is //ΙΙΔΟΥ and the restoration was [ἐπὶ Σίμων]νίδου. Raubitschek and Fine have examined a squeeze, and Raubitschek has sent us the following drawing of lines 1 and 2:

Fig. 2. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2656

The text should therefore read:

265/4    [ἐπὶ Φιλί]ππίδου [ἄρχοντος]  
           [ὄρος] χωρίου ἀποτ[ιμήματος]  
           [κτλ.]

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2724. No squeeze is available. As read by Meritt and restored by Kirchner (without mention of Ferguson's article), the first three lines are:

319/8	[ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀπ]	12½ letters
	[ολλ]οδώρου ὄρος	13 letters
	[χωρί]ον καὶ οἱ[κί]ας καὶ	15½ letters

Kirchner had a squeeze, and he *may* have studied the spacing for the restoration, and the style of the lettering for the date. Even if he had studied these matters, however, he would be the first to admit that the lettering and the spacing alike on boundary stones are impossible to fix precisely. It should be noted, moreover, that of the remaining seven lines of the inscription, which is complete in this respect, every line begins with a new word, except line 9, which begins with a new syllable. The break restored at the end of line 1 is therefore suspect. For the years 400-200 B.C., the following names of archons end in -όδωρος:

366/5 B.C.	Κηφισόδωρος
350/49	Ἀπολλόδωρος
319/8	Ἀπολλόδωρος

314/3	Νικόδωρος
294/3	Ὀλυμπιόδωρος
240/39	Ἀθηνόδωρος

Of these Nikodoros is preferable if we are to seek a name which can actually begin the line. A choice can also be made by observing the unusual order *ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τοῦ δέινος*, the title being mentioned before the name. This order, which became common in the second century after Christ, is found, so far as we know, only twice in the Greek period. The other occurrence is *I.G.*, XII, 8, 18, a boundary-stone of Lemnos (*supra*), where the dating reads *ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νικοδώρου*.<sup>55</sup> The Lemnian evidence is not quite as telling as it appears at first. It is highly probable, but it is not proved, that the archon is the Athenian archon and not a local one (C. Fredrich, commentary on *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 19; *et supra*). It is true also that another boundary-stone in Lemnos of the same year has the usual order, *ἐπὶ Νικοδώρου ἄρχοντος* (*I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 19), and so has the Athenian decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 450. Admitting these minor grounds for doubt, and admitting that the spacing would be allowable only on a boundary-stone, we note that the following restoration meets all other requirements:

314/3	[ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος]	10½ letters
	[Νικ]οδώρου ὄρος	12½ letters
	[χωρί]ου καὶ οἱ[κί]ας καί	15½ letters

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2758. The lettering is fairly regular and the date is certainly fourth century B.C. The *Corpus* would have it that lunate as well as four-barred sigmas occur in this inscription, but that is an error. No lunate form occurs.

*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2762. The stone is lost. There were two archons named Theophrastos, the first of 340/39 and the second of 313/2. The latter date has been preferred by editors solely on account of Ferguson's dating of Demetrios' legislation; by itself, of course, the text provides no ground for preferring either one of the two dates over the other.

*Hesperia*, III, no. 57, revised in *Hesperia*, XI, p. 313. We have a squeeze of double thickness. Raubitschek has ably restored the name in line 3 and identified the family.<sup>56</sup> As to line 1, numerous traces are visible,—more than are shown in *Hesperia*, III, p. 65,—but all are difficult to interpret. The first stroke, which belongs to the first letter of the archon's name, slopes more steeply than any of the lowest

<sup>55</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2630, a boundary-stone, was inscribed not earlier than the Augustan period. The dating is *ἄρχοντος Λεωχάρου* (without the *ἐπὶ*); hence the text is a renewal of one of 228/7. The formulae are unique or unusual in several other respects.

<sup>56</sup> Since the last preserved letter of line 3 has the form Π, which is exactly the form of the pi in line 5, it should not be printed as indubitable, but as η (with a dot), or <η>, which in this inscription may well stand for epsilon; or possibly, since no other eta in this inscription has the same form, the strokes stand for iota tau, as in Τῆτ[ῶνος].



strokes of the three preserved sigmas. In restoring  $\epsilon[\pi\iota] \Sigma\iota[\mu]\omega\nu[\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu]$ , Raubitschek depended somewhat on Ferguson's principle, the one which we are now testing. Hitherto the reading of the two letters  $-\omega\nu-$  has been unquestioned, but, if they are correct, the spacing is certainly too cramped to accommodate more than half the omega and all the mu, if the mu was as large as the mus of lines 3 and 5. Hence doubt arises as to  $\Sigma\iota[\mu]\omega\nu[\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu]$ . Meritt's original suggestion,  $[\chi\alpha\iota\rho]\omega\nu[\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu]$ , is doubtful for the same reason. Actually neither the omega nor the nu is certain: a more likely reading, it seems to us, is  $-\rho\mu-$ . Further, the slope of the preserved stroke of the first letter (not recorded in Meritt's drawing) is really not suitable for sigma, chi, or even kappa; another stroke seems to join it, and the traces fit a misshapen phi. Conformably with all the evidence, including spacing, we suggest that the reading is  $\epsilon[\pi\iota] \Phi[\alpha]\nu\omicron\mu[\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\nu]$ , who was archon in 260 B.C. There seems to be a trace of a vertical stroke before the omicron. In this inscription the two preserved nus have sloping strokes. Hence a slight doubt remains.

*I.G.*, XII, Supplement (1939), p. 147, no. 18. This gives the text of *I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 18 as revised in *B.C.H.*, XXXVI, 1912, p. 347. The text is not greatly altered; the dating in lines 6-7 reads as follows:  $\epsilon\pi\iota \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\langle\omicron\nu\rangle | \tau\omicron\varsigma \text{ Νικοδόρου}$ .

*I.G.*, XII, 8, no. 19. This is really two documents with texts which are identical except for the amounts and the dates. The dates, which alone concern us, are  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ Νικοδόρου } \acute{\alpha}\rho[\chi\omicron\nu] | \tau\omicron\varsigma$  (lines 1-2) and  $\epsilon\pi\iota \text{ Ἀρχίου } | \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (lines 8-9). Archias was not an archon in Athens, but Nikodoros has always been identified with the Athenian archon of that name. To what has been said already in the commentary in *I.G. ad loc.*, add that Ferguson's principles of dating and the mention of  $\sigmaυνθ\eta\kappa\alpha\iota$  both operate to make the period *ca.* 314 probable; if so, it would be strange to find that the Lemnians had an archon Nikodoros just when the Athenians had an archon Nikodoros, *if* the two were not really the same man. Be this as it may, we think it unsafe to date Archias in the very year 314/3, since the amount in one document is X (1000), in the other  $[\text{P}\text{H}\text{H}]\text{H}$  or  $[\text{X}\text{H}\text{H}]\text{H}$  or some other sum not 1000.

#### CONCLUSIONS TO PART VI

Taking the  $\sigmaυνθ\eta\kappa\alpha\iota$  first, we note that Ferguson's conclusion still holds: there is no mention of deposited copies of the contracts in any boundary-stone dated before 315/4 B.C. But this statement rests on only seven inscriptions. There are ten inscriptions which are dated after 316/5 B.C., but which mention no contracts. Hence, as Ferguson noted, mention of  $\sigmaυνθ\eta\kappa\alpha\iota$  was not compulsory, and *absence* of such mention has no chronological value. There is every reason to believe, however, that the code of Demetrios stipulated that a copy of each contract be deposited with a third person.<sup>57</sup> Boundary-stones were small, and the phrase  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \sigmaυνθ\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma, \kappa\tau\lambda.$  would

<sup>57</sup> See further Ferguson, *Klio*, XI, 1911, pp. 266-267.

ordinarily double the length of the inscription; hence its frequent omission, which evidently did not nullify the transaction.

Somewhat the same situation obtains with reference to the dating of the transaction by mention of the archon on the stone. Only one instance, significant or not, remains before 315/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2654). It is perhaps odd that no more are known, since whatever reason led Demetrios to advise dating the stones presumably would have operated before 316/5 to lead some persons to date their stones. In other words, instances of dated boundary-stones earlier than 316/5 would have to be numerous to be important for dating Demetrios' code. Actually, as against the one earlier stone, there are now no less than 20 assured instances of *ῥποι* dated after 316/5. But here again it would appear that the penalty for disobeying Demetrios' law was not severe, since three complete boundary-stones (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2701, 2741, and 2758) all mention *συνθήκαι* and so presumably are after 316/5 B.C., but none of them has the archon.

Ferguson's main conclusion appears to be even more securely established. It may be stated as follows. Those sections of Demetrios' code which applied to mortgages first went into effect in 315/4, and so doubtless were promulgated in 316/5, probably well before the end of the year, so that knowledge of them could spread in time for them to go into force on Hekatombaion 1 of 315/4.<sup>58</sup>

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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STERLING DOW

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<sup>58</sup> It is worth noting that the democratic government restored in 307 B.C. did not repeal Demetrios' laws on property transfers, if one may judge from the fact that several boundary-stones of the third century B.C. mentioning dates and contracts are now extant.

# THE CHRISTIAN BASILICA NEAR THE CENCHREAN GATE AT CORINTH

## INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION<sup>1</sup>

On the modern road running east from Old Corinth toward Cenchreae, and not far inside the gate in the ancient wall which has been named the Cenchrean Gate, there are the remains of a large and well-built basilica dating from early Christian times, which was discovered in 1928 by Dr. Carpenter and Dr. de Waele. Although its pavement lay hardly more than a metre below the modern field, enough is preserved to enable us to trace the history of the building with a fair degree of certainty.

This part of the city, even from Greek times, had been a cemetery,<sup>2</sup> and the church owes its special character to this fact. From the time of its erection, tomb chambers surrounded the walls, while later burials were made within the structure itself. In fact it would appear that the building was erected not only to honor some early saint or martyr, but also to provide a sacred precinct for the burial of wealthy or pious Corinthians.<sup>3</sup>

The original church, later altered, was a three-aisled Hellenistic basilica of conventional type, but with certain unusual features. It is a large building, 63.20 m. long outside, including the apse and narthex, and 23.30 m. wide outside at the east end. The interior measures 60.40 m. along the axis; the nave is 10.20 m. in width, the aisles 4.90 m. each at the east end. The arrangement is clearly shown on the plan (Pl. XII).

A narthex the full width of the building communicated with the aisles by doorways and with the nave by a three-arched opening with two columns. Two doorways opened from the narthex to the outside into an exo-narthex or more likely a portico. At the north end of this portico the foundations of a very interesting apsidal building were discovered just at the end of the excavation, at a slightly higher level than the

<sup>1</sup> I am chiefly indebted to Mr. Richard Stillwell, Director of the School at the time the excavation was carried on, for his encouragement during the work and in the preparation of this report for publication. Dr. F. J. de Waele and Miss M. Z. Pease, who carried out the preliminary excavations in 1928, both generously helped me on many questionable problems. Professor A. Orlandos of the Greek Archaeological Service was kind enough to visit the site and make many valuable suggestions. Space does not allow me to thank all those who have been of assistance to me, but a few instances of their many kindnesses will be noted later on.

<sup>2</sup> R. Carpenter, "Researches in the Topography of Ancient Corinth," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> J. S. Northcote and W. R. Brownlow, *Roma Sotterranea* (London, 1897), I, p. 492, Appendix Note D refers at length to St. Augustine's opinion as to the advantages of being buried near a saint.



church but contemporary with it. This outbuilding, which has not been cleared, may be possibly the baptistry. At the south end of the narthex where a few trial pits have been made, the structure has been destroyed, but this area has not been thoroughly investigated. It remains uncertain also whether there was an atrium or not, although the presence of a portico would seem to indicate the negative.

While the aisles and narthex are raised a step above the nave, the aisles are further separated from the nave by a raised socle of heavy squared limestone blocks originally sheathed in marble, which supported the piers of the nave arcade. At the easternmost arches of the arcade, however, between piers 3 and 4, the arches themselves are wider than usual and the socle is interrupted to permit passage between the aisles and nave at this point. So far no stairs leading to an upper gallery have been found, but the full perimeter of the building has not yet been uncovered.

The nave is terminated on the east by a raised step in the floor and by a transverse ("Triumphal") arch marking off the square bema in front of the apse. On the same transverse line the ends of the aisles also are cut off by an architectural screen, probably two arches resting on a central column, a rather unusual feature, but by no means unique. These rudimentary "transepts" were divided also from the bema by arches resting on a column in line with the nave arcades. In the bema itself the foundations of the Holy Table are partially preserved in front of the projecting semicircular apse.

The latter is raised a step above the bema and had seats for the clergy around its circumference, raised two steps more, with the bishop's throne on three steps in the center,—the customary arrangement.

In general the construction of the original church conforms to the late Roman and early Christian method. Heavy foundations (i. e., apse, nave, arcades, etc.) were of squared limestone blocks, but some of the foundations (aisle walls, narthex) were rubble. The walls themselves were of flat Roman brick about a foot (30.5 cm.) square and 3 cm. thick, laid in heavy mortar, with quoins at the corners and bonding courses of cut stone. The apse walls of the church and triconch, however, seem to have been of brick alone without stone courses. The exterior of the walls was plastered with stucco with ornamental hatching in herring-bone patterns.

Presumably the roof was framed in wood with a covering of broad shallow pantiles the joints of which were covered with narrow cover tiles, all evidently of rough local manufacture.

Inside, the walls were richly covered with marble revetment, while at the east end fragments of glass mosaic were found scattered about. Marble columns with carved capitals, carved and pierced screens added to the rich effect. The floor was also of white marble in rectangular slabs with borders and panels of marble and slate in geometric patterns.

Of the tomb chambers shown on the plan, the vault in chamber A antedates the

church but was enclosed by a wall added to the original structure. Chamber B is contemporary with the church as shown by its paving, although it later was cut into by the addition of chamber C. The triconch is likewise part of the original building, with its little rainwater cistern E. Chambers C and D were additions, but well constructed and probably not a great deal later than the original building.

There are signs that the original church was repaired at some time, as the aspe floor was roughly relaid, and the Holy Table evidently underwent a change.

At a much later period, when the building had been neglected long enough for about 30 cm. of earth to accumulate inside and the narthex apparently destroyed, a new narthex was created by a wall spanning the nave at pier 13, a screen being built between the columns which formed the original entrance to the nave. A flooring of coarse greenish-buff tiles set in clay was laid at this higher level, while the seats and throne in the apse, having lost their marble revetment, received a coat of stucco. The throne also seems to have been widened. Fragments of painted stucco on blocks built into late tombs may also belong to the decoration of this period of the church. A layer of charred matter and a large portion of the clerestory wall fallen and lying in the nave bear evidence as to the end of this phase of the structure.

In its latest stage, the building was curtailed to the easternmost portion. Heavy walls of squared stone with tiles in the joints were constructed at piers 3 and 5 to receive the vaults which replaced the wooden roof. Another lighter wall at pier 6 formed a narthex, while a carved pier base looking suspiciously Gothic marks probably the line of a shallow arcaded porch.

This last church was crudely floored with stone and marble slabs from various sources, and also has preserved the socle of marble for its iconostasis.

The third church was also probably destroyed partly by fire or pillage; at any rate it was thoroughly done, as so little remains, and even by the time of the Venetians and Turks its very existence was forgotten.

## CHURCH I

WESTERN END. As stated above, the original church was entered from a narthex<sup>4</sup> about 6 m. broad, extending the full width of the church, although not quite at right angles to the length, as can be seen from the plan (Pl. XII) and Figure 1. While the exterior wall is not very well preserved, the position of the two outside doorways is

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. A. Sotiriou, *Αἱ Χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι τῆς Θεσσαλίας καὶ αἱ Παλαιοχριστιανικαὶ Βασιλικαὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1929, plate B', p. 20, also figs. 8, p. 176, and 3, p. 216. This invaluable publication demonstrates that the Greek school of early Christian church-builders was quite distinct from those of Italy, Africa, or Syria and had its own characteristics as well as affinities with the other localities. As there is no other comparable publication, most of the references in this article will be to Sotiriou's work, which furnished the closest parallels.



marked by portions of the marble thresholds still in place. That there can have been no central door is shown by fragments of wall revetment still in their original bedding where such a door would have to come. While the wall itself is destroyed at this point, there is a sort of bench of rubble on the western side of the wall, which would have blocked a central doorway.

Part of a cement bedding outside the south doorway with imprints of paving



Fig. 1. Christian Basilica at Corinth, 1935. Narthex and West End of Nave Looking North

slabs, together with a long foundation wall almost paralleling that of the narthex, probably indicates a portico on the west end of the church rather than an atrium. Perhaps the Ionic impost capital of Proconnesian marble<sup>5</sup> built into the later wall just inside the nave (Fig. 2) came from this colonnade.

The interesting apsidal building at the north end of the portico is preserved only to the level of the rough cement floor bedding, which is about two steps above that of the narthex, with the apse a step higher. The apse is turned towards the west, and like that of the triconch was enclosed in a rectangular wall outside (Fig. 3). This

<sup>5</sup> Sotiriou, *loc. cit.*, fig. 75, p. 68.



is a common location for a baptistry, but until this chamber is fully cleared, its form and purpose cannot be definitely determined. It remains to be seen also if there may be a similar room off the south aisle as in Basilica A at Nea Anchialos.<sup>6</sup>

The cement bedding for the narthex floor is preserved, together with small portions of the wall revetment in addition to that mentioned above. The floor was level with the aisles, but about 15 cm. above that of the nave. The aisles were entered through large single doorways, the nave by a triple opening of arches resting upon



Fig. 2. Ionic Impost Capital in Late Wall

two columns, the bases of which remain in place (see Section, Pl. XIII). They are of marble, and of a crude, but fairly common, fifth-century type somewhat like an inverted Doric capital.<sup>7</sup> There were a few small fragments found in the narthex of Corinthianesque capitals of the "Theodosian" type (Fig. 4) which may also belong with these columns. The step which must have taken up the difference in floor levels is represented by a much broken piece of heavy marble in the central opening.

**AISLES.** The north aisle is easily traceable in its entire length, although its north wall has been almost entirely destroyed above the foundation. Nevertheless a good deal of the original marble pavement is preserved near the west end. Outside the church, opposite pier 11 of

the nave arcade is a spur wall bonding with the church structure, which is doubtless connected in some way with the apsidal chamber off the narthex.

Near the east end, the parallel wall to the north, which might be taken to indicate a widening of the north aisle, seems rather to belong to another building.

While the south aisle is better preserved towards its east end, a trial pit opposite pier 14 failed to discover even a foundation at that particular point, but unfortunately no more extensive digging was possible at that time. The side entrance west of chamber D may have been cut when that addition was made. It is hard to tell, since the aisle wall is not well preserved.

<sup>6</sup> Sotiriou, *loc. cit.*, pl. B, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Sotiriou, *loc. cit.*, p. 215, fig. 43. The fountain in the atrium of H. Demetrios at Thessalonica has similar bases; also *Εὐρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens, 1927), *Τεύχος Γ'*, p. 154, fig. 202, showing bases of the basilica at Glyphada.

As can be seen from the plan and sections, the ends of the aisles were screened off by an architectural feature, perhaps two arches resting on a central column. There are capitals and bases of an almost classical Ionic type found nearby which would have been suitable for such a screen. If we could be sure that the limestone block with a socket in it (shown at the north side of base Y in the south aisle) were in place, it might indicate a wood or metal grille as a further closure. Since everything else is of marble, however, the stone in question is more likely a later intrusion.



Fig. 3. Apse of Side Chamber from Southwest

In both of the elementary "transepts" thus cut off, small portions of the geometric marble and slate paving are fairly well preserved. In the northern one, furthermore, uncut lumps of glass and tesserae were found as though discarded by mosaic workers. The colors were clear and brilliant—turquoise, green, yellow, deep red, opaque white, and the deep blue which was a favored background color of the early mosaicists before the use of gold backgrounds. Probably, from the place where the refuse was deposited, the apse and triumphal arch were adorned with mosaic even if the rest of the church was not.

These "transepts" were similarly divided from the bema by arches resting upon a single column which rested in turn upon a low heavy parapet wall with openings



left near the triumphal arch and near the apse for passage. The side chambers would then have served as sacristies in the celebration of the ritual. This is a rather unusual arrangement, as the transept form has not been fully developed, but the same effect is achieved simply by partitioning off the ends of the aisles. The nearest parallel is Basilica B at Nikopolis in Epirus.<sup>8</sup>



Fig. 4. Fragments of "Theodosian" Capitals  
Found in the Narthex

NAVE. The nave extends eastward from the narthex wall some 40 m. to the triumphal arch and edge of the bema. The nave floor, partially preserved at the west end, is a step below the narthex, aisles, and bema. The central area is further separated from the aisles by an arcade on heavy piers (1.80 × 0.85 m.). The arches are also about 1.80 m. wide, except those just west of the triumphal arch which are 2.60 m. wide. The piers rest upon a continuous socle of heavy limestone blocks about 45 cm. above the nave floor, which is interrupted, however, at the wider arches to allow passage between the nave and aisles.<sup>9</sup>

This separation of the nave and aisles provided space for persons who were customarily segregated from the main body of the church. While the aisles thus take over the usual function

of upper galleries, similar examples are known where galleries were provided as well.<sup>10</sup>

The portion of fallen wall now lying in the nave shows clearly the imprint of the arch carried by the nave piers. This exclusive use of piers in the nave arcade is very unusual,<sup>11</sup> and all the more strange since antique columns must have been available. The only plausible explanation may be a fear of earthquakes which inspired the more massive type of construction, since the effect must have been rather graceless and heavy.

<sup>8</sup> Sotiriou, *loc. cit.*, p. 202, fig. 33. Also W. Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church* (New York, 1923), shows a similar arrangement (p. 104, fig. 27) in such widely separated places as Kalb Luseh in Syria and Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome.

<sup>9</sup> This separation of the nave and aisles is an almost universal characteristic of the basilicas of Greece; Sotiriou, *loc. cit.*, p. 216 top.

<sup>10</sup> Basilica A at Nea Anchialos, Hagia Paraskevi at Thessalonica.

<sup>11</sup> At least in Greece. The small basilica at Paramythia in Epirus is the only other example. Piers are of course common in Africa and Syria. It might be noted also that the portico at the west end is a common Syrian feature, the atrium being associated with Hellenistic and Italian types.



BEMA. The edge of the bema is very badly destroyed by late tombs which cut into it so that barely enough of the concrete bedding is left to indicate the step up from the nave floor in line with the western face of the triumphal arch. From analogy with similar contemporary basilicas of a monumental type we should expect to find traces of a high arched gateway (*ώραία πύλη*)<sup>12</sup> projecting into the nave at the center



Fig. 5. Fragments of Pierced Screens

of this step, but unhappily it is precisely at this point that the evidence is most thoroughly destroyed, and so far no fragments which might belong to such a feature have been found. There are, however, many fragments of the pierced slabs (Fig. 5) and some of the square marble posts which formed the low parapet enclosing the bema.

In front of the apse, on the axis of the church is the foundation for the Holy Table (Fig. 6), consisting of two parallel marble blocks cut from Roman architraves, one of them in place, part of the other found near by. Each of these blocks had two sets of three shallow cuttings: one set of two square cuttings at the ends with a round

<sup>12</sup> Sotiriou, *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

one in the center, the other set of three round cuttings, partly obliterated by the former. These clearly show that the Holy Table was of a common type: a marble slab supported on six colonnettes.<sup>13</sup> A small fragment which may belong to one of these colonnettes was found in the excavations (Fig. 7).

The diagram (Fig. 8) will make clearer the arrangement of the substructure of the Table. There was a space of about 40 cm. between the large blocks which was



Fig. 6. Foundations of Holy Table, 1935

closed at the ends by marble blocks of the same height, so that the marble and slate floor of the bema came right up to the foundation on all sides. Inside these end blocks were depressions slightly lower than the bema floor, and paved with a thin slab of marble. In the center, two upright plaques of slate enclosed a mass of very hard mortar. As this is the customary location for a reliquary, a portion of this mortar was laboriously cut away, without success. Instead of the hollow space containing the relic which might have been expected, the space beneath was completely filled

<sup>13</sup> Sotiriou, *loc. cit.*, pp. 230, 231, fig. 58, except for the number of colonnettes supporting the Table.



with earth. Is it possible that the holy relics were contained in some receptacle above ground? Such an arrangement is quite unknown, yet the special treatment of the center of the area under the Holy Table suggests that it had some particular reason. Although some basilicas of this period in Greece are known not to have had reliquaries,<sup>14</sup> in a memorial church of this kind one would certainly be expected.

The original marble and slate floor in a lozenge pattern is preserved on all sides of the Holy Table, although broken in places. Not enough of the later levels has as yet been removed to say whether or not there was a ciborium.

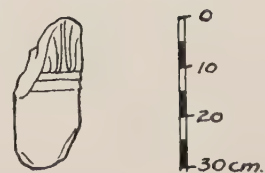


Fig. 7. Fragment of Colonnade

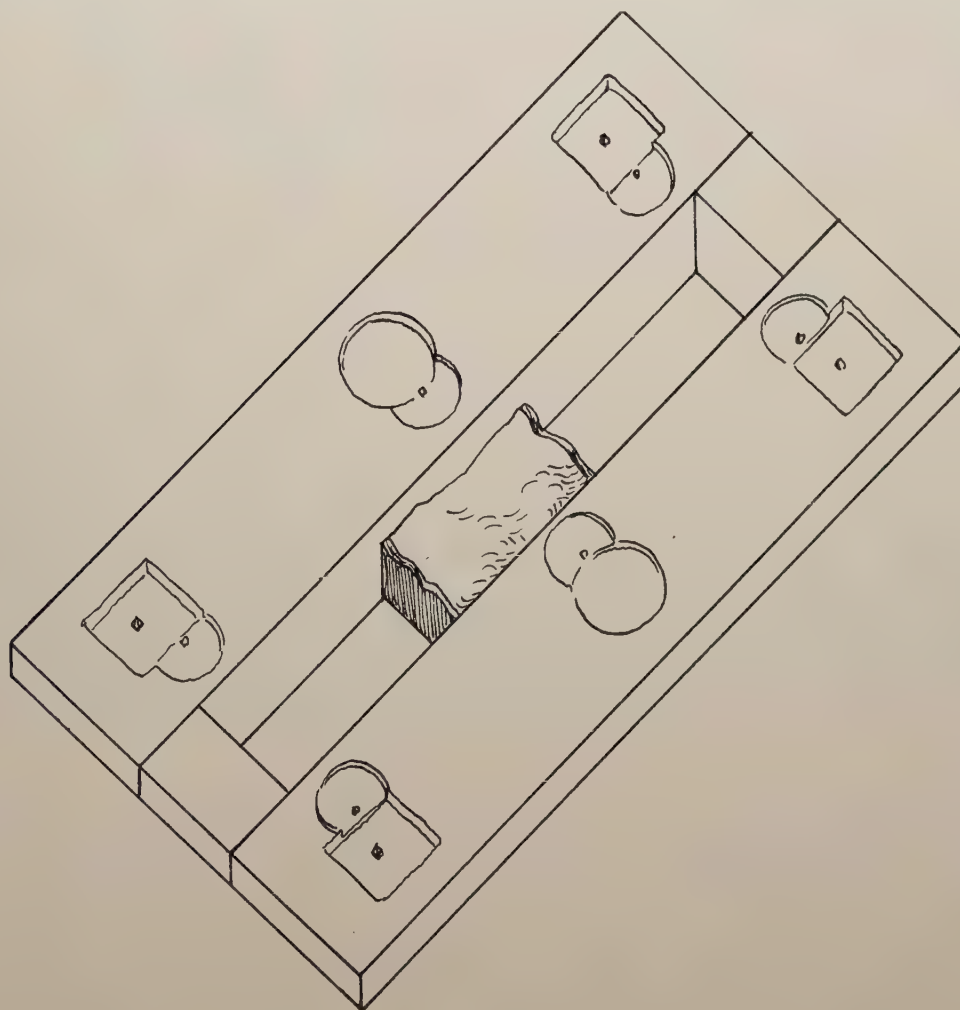


Fig. 8. Isometric Sketch of Foundation of the Holy Table

<sup>14</sup> Sotiriou, *loc. cit.*, p. 236 (Basilica of Daphnoussei in Lokris, basilica on the Ilissus in Athens).



APSE. The apse presents no unusual features on the interior. The exterior foundations, however, show a puzzling series of projecting blocks which look like foundations for buttresses. As they occur several courses below grade and apparently were never carried higher, they may represent a scheme which was abandoned, for the wall of the apse was made quite massive.

Inside, the apse floor is a step above that of the bema. It does not exist in its original condition, but its broken fragments have been relaid at random at about the original level. With the obvious repair to the Holy Table, can we suppose that the apsidal half-dome may have fallen in at some time? At any rate it is clear that these are minor repairs to the original structure and do not belong to a separate period of general rebuilding.

Along the curve of the apse wall and two steps above the floor was a bench for the clergy, doubtless originally sheathed in marble. The long stones which look like partitions between seats were more likely inserted to provide a firm hold for bronze dowels and anchors to secure the marble revetment. There was a throne for the bishop in the center, of which the daïs of three steps remains. The throne itself was undoubtedly of marble.

TOMB CHAMBERS. The most interesting and characteristic feature of the church is the tomb chambers.

As has been noted, this area of the city was a cemetery even in Greek times, although it was within the walls. Actually the foundation for pier X in the north aisle rests in a Greek limestone sarcophagus, with another found near by, in the same pit, unfortunately rifled. Both graves rest on hardpan.

South of the late east-west wall in the north "transept" can be seen on the plan and section the south side of a chamber, well-built of a rubble of limestone and marble fragments, with a vault of stone voussoirs carefully dressed to the curve, the first course of which is still in place. The west and north sides are evidently gone, but the east side shows part of a doorway. While a coin of Constans I (A.D. 333-350) came from between the chinks of this chamber near the bottom, it is not absolutely sure that the fill had been undisturbed. However, from comparison with similar construction at Corinth there is no doubt that the vault must be Roman.

The importance of this chamber lies in the fact that its orientation, the same as that of the Greek graves, is also the same as the vault in chamber A, and evidently belongs to the general system in vogue before the building of the church. The vault in chamber A, although somewhat cut into by the builders, was evidently respected and kept open. In fact it was later incorporated into the church structure by an enclosing wall.

This vault (Figs. 9 & 10) is well made of flat bricks in heavy mortar similar to the construction of the church, resting on a rubble foundation. The side walls had

niches for lamps, while the south wall contained the entrance opening. Within the vault was one grave, desecrated as usual, built of tiles and stuccoed inside, with a marble cover. All of this obviously antedated the church, if one may judge from the manner in which the church foundation cuts into the brickwork, and from the orientation.

Outside this vault to the south is another brick-lined grave not stuccoed, at a higher level, which is oriented more nearly with the church. Does this mean that the



Fig. 9. Chamber A, Looking Southeast, 1935

orientation of this grave was determined by that of the church? If not, we should expect it to conform to the orientation of other graves in the vicinity, which it does not. This would seem to indicate, therefore, that the grave was dug after the church had been built.

Between the second grave and the vault entrance a third grave is simply cut in the hardpan. It was covered with rough limestone slabs coated on the underside with coarse gray stucco. The second grave comes so close to this latter one that it is hard to see how the second grave could have been dug afterward without going through, whereas the earth-cut grave could easily have been dug last since the tile lining of



the second grave would have supported the thin layer of earth between them which at one place is only a few centimetres thick.

The reason for going into this elaborate argument as to sequence is that grave 3 contained the only undisturbed datable evidence in the entire complex. In it were found two skeletons, a plain bronze ring, an iron buckle, fragments of coarse pottery and broken lamps, and two Christian lamps of type XXVIII which Dr. Broneer kindly examined and dated not later than the end of the fifth century after Christ.<sup>15</sup>

If our sequence is correct, and grave 3 is of the fifth century, then grave 2 and the church were also constructed before the end of that century. Fortunately this is

borne out by the general scheme of the basilica and the details of its ornamentation which are strikingly similar to other churches of Greece dated in that period.

So much has been destroyed that the relation between Church I and the wall enclosing chamber A is not very clear, but it seems safe for several reasons to call the wall a later addition. The opening from the north "transept" has obviously been cut through, although of course it may be an enlargement of an existing opening. As the wall is so fragmentary, it does not appear whether it could have bonded with the church wall, but its construction differs from that of the church, being quite similar in fact to that of chambers C and D, which are obvious additions. Also this enclosing wall is arched over

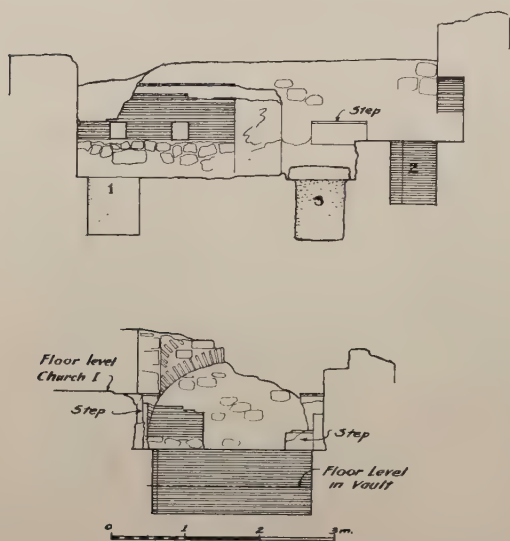


Fig. 10. Chamber A, North-South (top) and East-West (bottom) Sections

the corner of grave 2, which probably, as explained above, is later than the church.

Even after the enclosure of chamber A, the vault seems to have been kept open, for there is a stuccoed step (Fig. 10) over the west end of grave 2 and another over the east end of grave 3, leading down. At a still later date, the top of the vault was cut off, its end filled with the heavy wall shown on the plan, and a floor of square tiles was laid at the same floor level as Church I. There is no evidence that the floor was ever raised.

The next tomb chamber is B, just south of the apse. After the late grave found in the first campaign had been removed it was found that the original floor of slate and marble, rather calcined by a fire, extended well into the corner (Fig. 11). A nicely

<sup>15</sup> This is only one instance of the help given me by Dr. Broneer, upon whom I depended greatly for advice especially in the actual method of carrying on the excavation as well as information in many other fields.



made grave, in this chamber, stuccoed on tiles and with a marble cover was opened and found to contain, strange to say, an undisturbed burial, but unfortunately without any datable objects.

Chamber B probably originally extended to the south side of the doorway in chamber C, which formed its original entrance until chamber C was added, when this door was walled up and the present one cut into chamber B.



Fig. 11. Chambers C and B, Looking Northwest, 1935

The most interesting feature of the entire church is the imposing funerary chapel off the south aisle (Figs. 12 and 13). It has a trefoil shape (triconch) or rather that of a square room with three projecting apses.<sup>16</sup> The apse walls are built of brick, the

<sup>16</sup> E. H. Freshfield, *Cellae Trichorae* (London, privately printed by Rixon & Arnold, 1913-18), I, p. 13: "These chapels [in Sicily] have certain leading features in common: a cruciform ground plan, a square nave covered with a flat dome with apses on three sides . . . and each building is situated in or near a burying ground."

Lowrie, *op. cit.*, p. 147: "Cross-shaped chambers were sufficiently common in Roman Architecture; in the early Christian period they were commonly used as mausoleums or memorial chapels." Examples follow, too many to quote at length.

others of brick and cut stone. Outside the foundations of the lateral apses are water tables of rubble with sloping cemented top to shed the water away from the foundations. Between the eastern apse and the church wall and next to the doorway into the south aisle is the small rainwater cistern E (plan, Plate XII, and Fig. 14), which was lined with tiles and stuccoed to catch the drip from the intersecting roofs of the aisle and triconch. No good reason can be given for the rectangular wall which encloses



Fig. 12. Triconch, Looking North

the southern apse unless it was intended, as has been suggested, to simplify the roofing problem.

A door in the south aisle opposite the first arch of the nave arcade gives access to the triconch, the floor of which was at the same level as that of the aisle, and of similar material and design as shown by the existing portion. The eastern apse was raised a step above this, but whether the western one was also raised is not clear. However, the walls at the sides of the western apse show vertical cuttings as though for a rail or low screen about 95 cm. high to enclose it. In the triconch also were found several more fragments of "Theodosian" capitals shown in Figure 15.



It is the large southern apse which provides the reason for this elaborate chapel in the form of an unusually large vaulted tomb constructed of flat brick arched over and stuccoed inside. The apse floor above the tomb is raised. The east end of the tomb has an opening covered with a stone slab which was removable, and access was further assisted by footholds formed in the sides of the tomb under the opening. Since



Fig. 13. Triconch, Looking South

quite a number of burials had been made in the vault, this feature seems to have been put to good use.

This tomb very plausibly has been taken to be the sepulcher of some noteworthy father or early martyr to whom the church was dedicated and in whose honor this imposing chapel was erected. A similar theory has been applied to the subterranean vault of the basilica on the Ilissus at Athens.

There are reasons why another supposition might be true. It is well known that Eastern churches, when consecrated to a saint, usually had the relics deposited under





Fig. 14. Rain-Water Cistern E



Fig. 15. Fragments of Theodosian Capitals from Triconch

the altar, or at least in a sealed crypt, not exposed.<sup>17</sup> Now the vault in the triconch was expressly designed to be entered from time to time. The basilica on the Ilissus also has three very commodious graves,<sup>18</sup> easily accessible but hardly a place to accommodate worshippers as the stairway is narrow and the room cramped. While these churches were doubtless erected to honor some early saints and enshrine their remains it seems not unreasonable to suggest that the tomb chambers were erected for the benefit of the family of the donors or possibly for the clergy connected with the church since they seem in both cases to have been particularly designed for repeated burials.

The other four tomb chambers strengthen this hypothesis as they show for one thing that private burial chambers were permitted to be added to the church. In fact chamber C alters the original structure to the extent of blocking up the old door, and curtailing chamber B which then became a sort of vestibule to chamber C.

Chamber D was entered from the outside but the door into the south aisle of the church may have been cut through at this time although the destruction of the church wall here makes it difficult to say.

Chamber C contains one vaulted brick tomb and one with a marble slab relieved by an arch of brick above, neither of them stuccoed inside. The two graves in chamber D were similarly of brick with segmental brick vaults, one of which was centered on a form of reeds, the other on boards as shown by imprints in the end of the vault. These graves are likewise not stuccoed, and all had openings at the east end, covered by slabs of stone.

The walls of these chambers were of rubble with bands of brickwork and were probably originally stuccoed while the interiors may have had a revetment of marble. Chamber D appears to have been floored with thick lozenge-shaped clay tiles. As for their relation to Church I, even the most cursory examination shows clearly that they were later additions, although the construction of the chambers and the style of the graves indicates that they are not a great deal later.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Sotiriou, *loc. cit.*, p. 239, section on tombs of martyrs. Lowrie, *op. cit.*, p. 49, remarks that the removal of the body of St. Valentine to a new site was altogether exceptional. Other basilicas were erected in the most inconvenient places to accommodate themselves to the site of the existing tomb and to avoid disturbing it (Sta. Agnese, Sta. Petronilla).

<sup>18</sup> Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Athens, 1927), Τεύχος Α', p. 52, fig. 39, plan and section of the hypogeum of the basilica on the Ilissus.

<sup>19</sup> The tombs in the church exhibit certain characteristics which deserve mention. In general, those graves which appear to be contemporary or slightly earlier than the church are built of square tiles stuccoed inside and are covered with a flat slab of marble. This is a well-known late Roman type (grave I in chamber A, grave in chamber B. The grave in the triconch is stuccoed, but was vaulted). The next type was likewise built of tiles but not stuccoed, and was mostly covered over by a vault with an opening left at the eastern end to be closed by a slab (chambers C and D).

Tombs of the later periods were built of rubble and covered either with vaults or slabs from various sources. A very common type subsequent to the destruction of Church II consisted of large curved roof tiles placed like the letter A over the body, which rested on earth.



## CHURCH II

After a lapse of time sufficient to fill the church with 30 or 40 cm. of earth, possibly corresponding to the Avar occupation of Corinth (A.D. 588 to 805),<sup>20</sup> enough of the ancient structure still remained to make repairs worth while, testifying to the solidity of the original building. The portico and narthex had evidently been destroyed, however, since a new narthex was created by walling off the westernmost bay of the nave and closing up the nave arches. This roughly laid rubble wall included such fragments as the boldly modelled Ionic impost capital mentioned above (Fig. 2).

The space between the columns of the original triple entrance to the nave seems to have been closed as well, since a few small stones remain in place, and the marble bases themselves have had shallow sockets cut into their upper faces and show the wear of a pair of gates or doors in the central opening. How the side openings were closed does not appear.

The nave and aisles seem to have remained as they were, except for a floor of square greenish tiles at a level with the top of the socle on which the nave piers rest. At the east end of the church, the seats in the apse, having lost their original marble revetment, received a coat of stucco which clearly belongs to this period as it turns out over the edge of the tile floor. Additions were also made to the throne of the bishop of which only a few small stones remain in place; it seems merely to have been a broadening of the platform upon which the throne rested. The other features of the east end at this period have been obliterated by the building of Church III which is at a not much higher level. Perhaps the iconostasis of Church III is actually re-used from this period. One carved panel (Fig. 16),<sup>21</sup> now in the museum, probably belongs to this church. The openings between the "transepts" and the bema were walled up, at least to the floor level.

It does not seem that the floor levels of any of the tomb chambers have been raised but probably, as they were no longer necessary to the functions of the church, they had been disused and allowed to fall into ruin.

A few blocks of stuccoed limestone with traces of frescoes found built into late tombs may belong to this church, as the original decoration of marble and mosaic would have been destroyed.

At any rate, this phase was ended by a disastrous fire which damaged the structure very badly. Indeed, a portion of the clerestory wall of the north side of the nave which fell in is still lying in the center of the church (Fig. 17).

<sup>20</sup> See G. R. Davidson, "The Avar Invasion of Corinth," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 227-240.

<sup>21</sup> It was found covering a grave beneath the iconostasis of Church III.





Fig. 16. Marble Plaque from Church II



Fig. 17. West Wall and Narthex of Church III. Fallen Wall of Church II Seen above the Marble Threshold in the Center of the Picture



## CHURCH III

Even with this, enough of the east end remained to make a third rebuilding worth the trouble. Heavy abutments were built against pier 3 and a heavy wall thrown across the nave at pier 5. At pier 6 another lighter wall with the marble column bases of the same type as those at the nave entrance, shown in Figure 17, enclosed a narthex,



Fig. 18. Base of Porch Pier, Church III

while at pier 7 is the remaining jamb with bases of engaged colonnettes (Fig. 18) of what appears to be an arcaded porch in the Western style.<sup>22</sup> The masonry is characteristic of eleventh and twelfth century work in Greece, of squared stones with tiles in both the horizontal and vertical joints. The heavy abutments would indicate vaults of some sort to replace the original wooden roof.

Ancient columns and other fragments have been re-worked into a basis for the iconostasis (see above), from which may also come some of the plaques now in the Museum (Figs. 19, 20).

<sup>22</sup> Churches of full Gothic type are extremely rare in Greece, even in centers of Frankish occupation, although many churches exhibit traces of Gothic influence. While arcaded porches are not common, they do appear at Mistra, and at Arta (St. Theodora).





Fig. 19. Plaque





Fig. 20. Fragments of Marble Plaque

### GENERAL HISTORY AND SUMMARY

The first church can be safely attributed to the fifth century after Christ, as it has so many similarities to other Greek churches of that period. Most of the carved

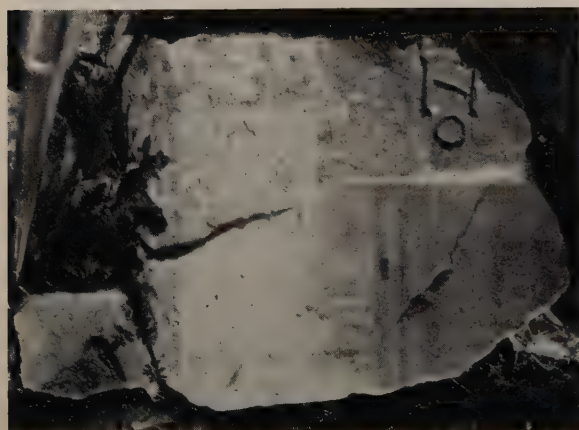


Fig. 21. Column with Monogram

fragments have been mentioned in connection with the structure, but very little was found in any case. One column fragment bears the monogram shown in the accompanying photograph (Fig. 21), but this scanty clue as to the identity of the structure has not been of much help. Small finds were almost non-existent; the most important have been mentioned.

While the coins<sup>23</sup> are interesting, their evidence cannot be relied upon owing to the disturbed condition of the fill due to later burials all over the area. However, they run in a sequence from late

Roman through the fourth century after Christ into the fifth, then a gap until the early part of the tenth century, another series, and another gap between A.D. 976 and

<sup>23</sup> I am very much indebted to Dr. K. M. Edwards for classifying the coins and going over them with me.

1056, and finally an unbroken series running into the thirteenth century, with stray Turkish and Venetian coins later.

The first lacuna corresponds roughly to the period of the Avar occupation. Church I was then either partly destroyed or perhaps simply left to decay.

During the tenth century, coinciding with an era of prosperity under the Basilian emperors at Constantinople, the church was remodeled and repaired, as we have seen (Church II), but toward the end of the century suffered a disastrous fire which all but ruined it.

In the eleventh century, a period of great building activity in Greece, the eastern end was utilized as the nucleus for a small, but well-constructed church. From the numismatic record, which ceases about the middle of the thirteenth century, it would seem that the second fire, which caused the destruction of this phase of the church, was probably due to the wars and raids of the period subsequent to the fourth crusade,<sup>24</sup> so that by the time of the Venetian and Turkish occupations the building had ceased to exist, and until Dr. Carpenter's explorations discovered it by chance, its presence was not even suspected.

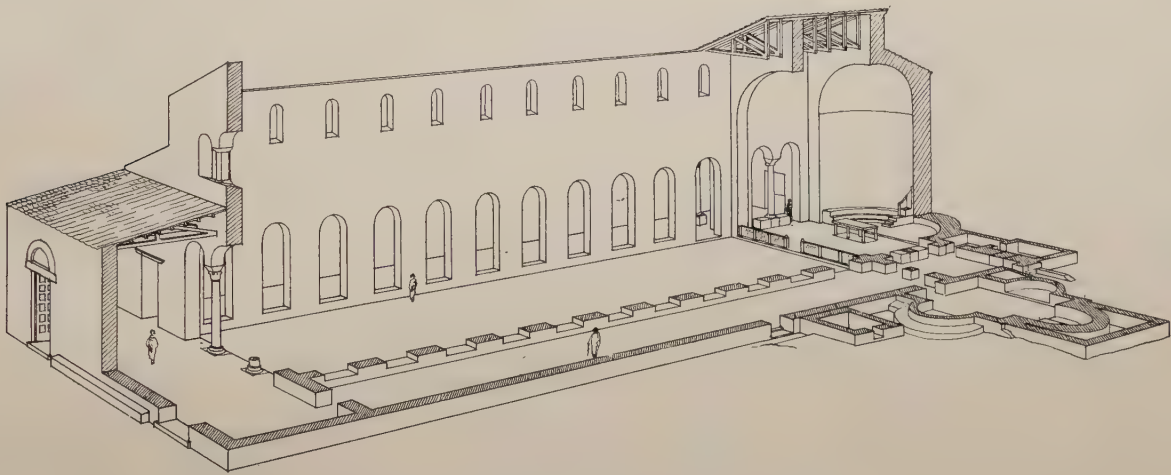


Fig. 22. Schematic Perspective of Basilica

The perspective reconstruction with which I end this article is schematic rather than accurate as the actual remains are scarcely more than the low walls indicated in the foreground (Fig. 22). The superstructure is argued from analogous structures. Since the extent of the porticoes and other additions at the west end are unknown, they were omitted.

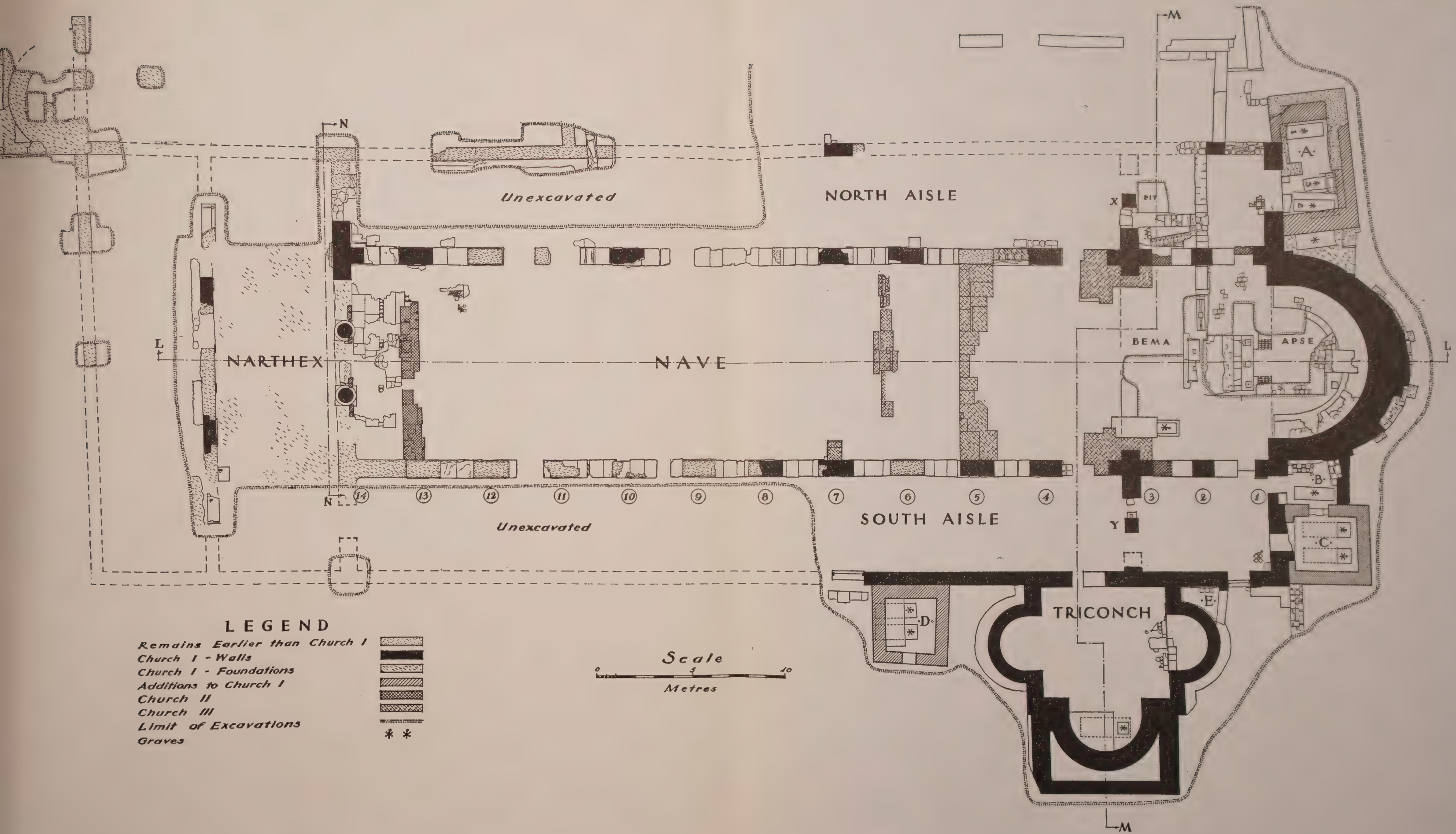
JOSEPH M. SHELLEY

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<sup>24</sup> Corinth was sacked by Geffrey I Villehardouin in 1210-1212 A.D. G. Finlay, *History of Greece* (Oxford, 1877), IV, p. 194 footnote.







SECTIONS THROUGH CHRISTIAN BASILICA AT CORINTH





## KLEPSYDRA AND THE PAVED COURT OF THE PYTHION

A word of explanation is due as to why this paper does not in all respects conform to what is generally expected in the preliminary presentation of the results of an excavation. A large part of the necessary notes, drawings, and photographs was brought to America through the kindness of the United States Department of State, and reached me in January, 1942. Certain material, however, apparently had to be left in Greece: detailed records of the pottery found in connection with the buildings, notes on structural details, and certain photographs and drawings. My general conclusions had of course been reached with this material to hand; but access to it while this paper was in preparation would have made it possible to describe the physical remains with greater precision, and to present the archaeological evidence for the chronology of various periods more fully and effectively.

I am deeply indebted to Professor D. M. Robinson for assistance and encouragement in countless ways; to Professor Oscar Broneer, with whom I have discussed many of my problems, who has generously read the manuscript and made suggestions greatly to its improvement; and to the members of the classical faculty of the University of California, for their many kindnesses during the years 1941-43.

My debt to my colleagues of the Agora Staff, I cannot adequately acknowledge here; suffice it to say that there is scarcely a page or a paragraph which is not the better for the knowledge and counsel of some one of them.

Most of the photographs, including all of the good ones, were taken by Miss M. A. Frantz. The original drawings were made by John Travlos; those which are here reproduced were made by David A. Lee, of Oakland, California, from tracings of the originals.

### I. INTRODUCTION

Every visitor to Athens is familiar with the north face of the Acropolis as it looks from the streets of the town below; he has seen the sheer rock wall above the tree-covered slope with the dark shadows of the sanctuary-caves near its western end (Fig. 1). But not everyone, approaching the Beulé gate of the Acropolis, has turned aside to take the path to the left around the slope at the base of the northwest cliffs. He who has, will have paused at the broad ledge directly below the caves and the Propylaia—it is an obvious resting-place—to reflect for a moment about the region where he stood. Here in antiquity was the place where peripatos and Pana-



thenaic Street met; above were the Olympion and the Pythion, somewhere near by, the sanctuary of Ge; farther along the slope—green today as it was in antiquity—were the Aglaurion and the shrine of Aphrodite “in the Gardens”; below stretched



Figure 1

The northwest corner of the Acropolis from the Areopagus. The dark shadow of the caves, and the sunlit ledge before them are conspicuous below and to the left of the Propylaea. Still lower, almost beneath the Propylaea, and just to the left of the center of the picture, the brightly lighted masonry of the chapel well house can be distinguished; a sharply defined, almost rectangular shadow marks the opening of the cleft by which we made our way into Klepsydra: indicated by K. At the right of the chapel, and above it, the line of the cleft may be made out, through which the rock-cut stairway reached the ancient bastion below the Propylaea; note the Byzantine doorway in the face of the bastion. The Court of the Pythion lies to the left of the Klepsydra, concealed behind the thick growth of trees at the left. With this view, compare those shown by Picard, *L'Acropole: L'enceinte*, etc., pls. 2 and 10, both taken before trees were planted.

that mysterious area, the Pelargikon. Here, surely, was the very heart of primitive Athens, Athens before Theseus—after the Acropolis itself, the oldest and most sacred part of the city.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, II, 15, where *πρὸς νότον* must be a mistake or a corruption: Thucydides wrote, or intended to write, *πρὸς βορρᾶν* (or *πρὸς ἄρκτον*, cf. Belger, *B.Ph.W.*, XIV, 1894, p. 93). It is the duplication of certain sanctuaries, which appear both on the north slope of the Acropolis, and south of it, toward the Ilissos, that may have caused the error, and is certainly responsible for its perpetuation; the question has often been discussed (see the references cited by Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 55, note 4), most recently by O. Broneer, whose paper is summarized in *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 92.

Recalling himself to the present, and his immediate surroundings, he will have noticed, probably, the rather puzzling complex of structures below the caves of Pan and Apollo: the impressive stone paving close against the base of the overhanging cliff; the shabby masonry of the wall of Valerian which partly concealed it<sup>2</sup> (Figs. 2-8); and up at the right, among the rocks, the little chapel of the Holy Apostles, with the stone well-curb in its apsidal end, and the narrow rock-cut stairway leading from it up to the Acropolis wall (Figs. 19-20). He may even have clambered up the modern steps and made his way into the chapel. Once there, he has, surely, looked into the well and seen the still, dark water far below. This is the water that is ordinarily called Klepsydra (that it is rightly so called there can, I think, be no doubt). It was James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, visiting Athens in the middle of the eighteenth century to gather material for their epoch-making *Antiquities of Athens*, who first put together the indications given by ancient writers, to arrive at this identification.<sup>3</sup> It has not subsequently been seriously questioned, and there is no reason it should be: we shall see that it is certainly a sound one.

Klepsydra has a long history, longer by far, indeed, than the history of the city of Athens itself, for its origin goes back into the remoteness of geologic time. We shall not here trace it so far; our interest begins with the period, remote enough, when the Neolithic dwellers on the slopes of the Acropolis first dug their shallow pits about the hidden source. Thence, we follow it through to modern, or all but modern, times; to the years of the Greek Revolution, when for almost the last time the people of Athens regarded Klepsydra's water as of something more than archaeological interest.<sup>4</sup>

Some documentation of this history existed; our excavations have added much more. This essay is primarily an account of those excavations, but it aims also to gather, and to interpret, all the relevant material, old and new. It suggests, further, that Klepsydra was not merely a spring with its own nymph, but was actually the center of that cult of the Nymphs which, it has long been evident, existed on the northwest slope of the Acropolis. It includes also the first study of the Paved Court which lies beside Klepsydra and, finally, advances reasons for believing that this court was a part of the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo: that, in all probability, it

<sup>2</sup> As a result of the Agora Excavations, there is now conclusive evidence that Valerian can have had nothing to do with the building of the wall which is ordinarily attributed to him, cf., e. g., *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 332, and the summary of the history of the wall in *Arch. Anz.*, LII, 1937, p. 111. Few readers, however, would recognize it under the name which will ultimately be proposed for it; I, therefore, here and throughout, use the old name, omitting even quotation marks.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquities of Athens* (London, 1762, 1787, 1794, 1816), I, p. 15; II, pl. V.

<sup>4</sup> In 1929-30, when Professor Broneer began work on the north slope of the Acropolis, he found that women of the Anaphiotika quarter still went regularly to Klepsydra for their water.



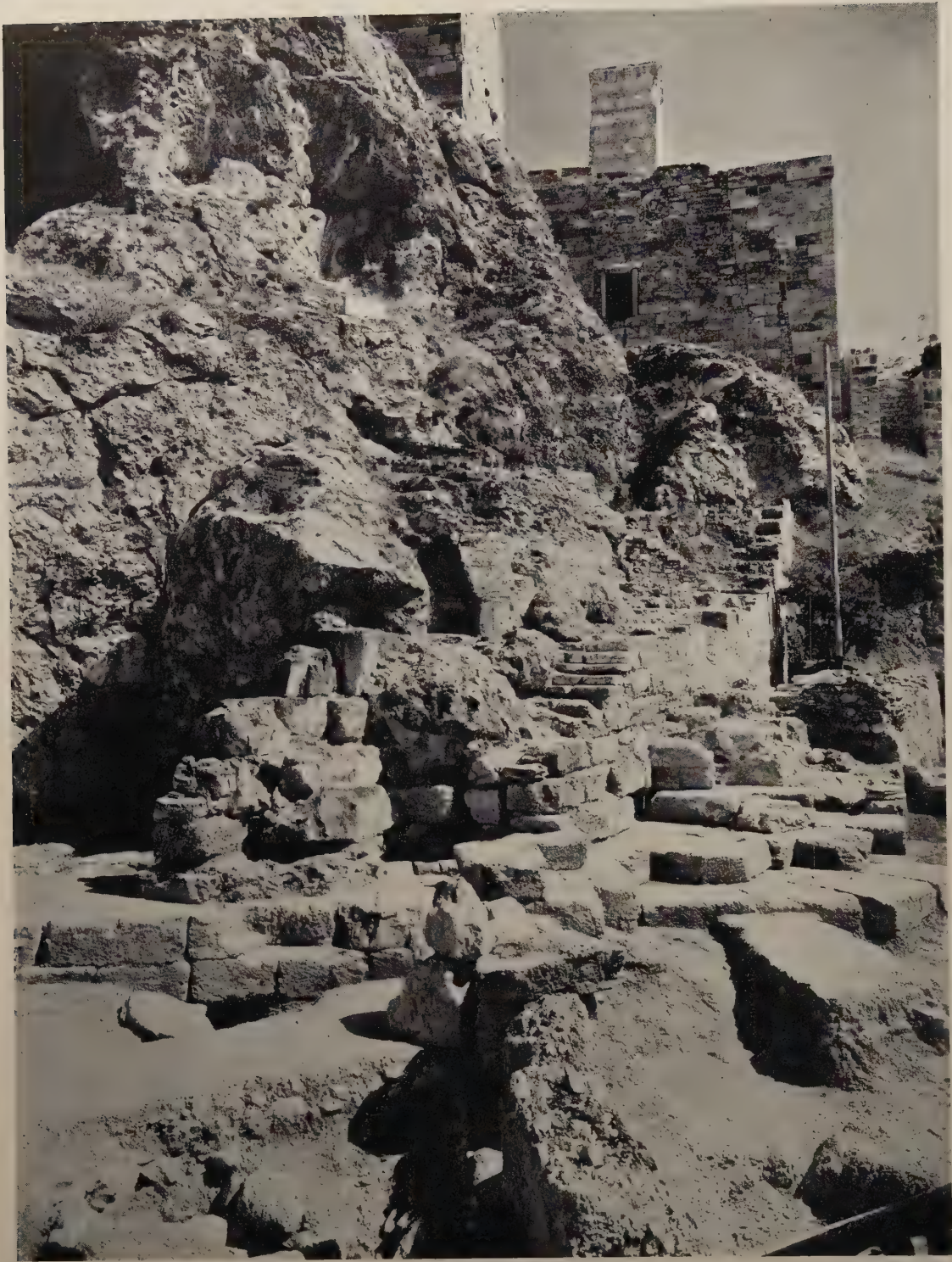


Figure 2

Klepsydra and the west end of the Paved Court from the north. The low wall in the left foreground is the north wall of the Court. The wall of Valerian, in part demolished when this photograph was taken, crosses it toward the Acropolis, and partially masks the brick and stone vault of the chapel well house. Note the modern steps utilising the wall of Valerian to reach the cleft where the ancient stairway runs between the chapel and the Acropolis. Much of this is somewhat better shown in Picard, *L'Acropole*, plate 11, which includes the caves above, but shows nothing of the Court (cf. also his plate 9, 2).



served as a kind of pompeion, or a place of preparation, for the great religious procession to Delphi, the Pythais.

Modern investigation of Klepsydra might be said to have begun in 1822. The plans of the Venetian engineers of 1687, the accounts of Stuart and Revett, Dodwell, Leake, and other travellers make it quite plain that, at least during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the actual source of Klepsydra, the old spring house, the well house, and the stairway from the Acropolis were all forgotten, buried presumably beneath an accumulation of silt and debris washed and thrown down from the Acropolis. The water of Klepsydra was, of course, known and used: the overflow emerged from the slope as a small stream which ran beside the path toward the town, where during part of the period it fed a roadside fountain.

In 1822, the Turkish forces defending the Acropolis were obliged to surrender to the Greeks because they lacked water. The Greeks, determined that the same thing should not happen to them, in their turn, began at once a search for an adequate water supply. They looked for the Erechtheid *θάλασσα*, it is true, but they found Klepsydra, and lost no time in enclosing it within the famous water bastion built under the leadership of Odysseus Andritzos.

The *Ἐπιστάτης τῶν ὑδάτων*, who made the actual rediscovery of the long-lost spring was, it seems almost certain, Cyriacus Pittakis, who thus auspiciously began his long career as an archaeologist; and it was he who wrote the first description of it.<sup>5</sup>

In 1874, Émile Burnouf, of the French School at Athens, carried out excavations which were the first serious effort to unravel the tangle of walls, ancient and modern, which then concealed the spring. He cleared out much of the interior of the bastion of Odysseus, though he was refused permission to demolish the whole of it; and his careful drawings are the best, almost the only, records which we possess of the bastion. He descended into the ancient drawbasin, but saw only what Pittakis had led him to expect; and he uncovered a small part of the Paved Court.<sup>6</sup>

In 1888, the Archaeological Service finally decided to demolish the bastion, and the work was carried out in the summer of that year; Klepsydra was thus made relatively accessible, but the Paved Court lay still almost entirely concealed.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Pittakis' first account of his discovery was published in his *Ancienne Athènes où la description des antiquités d'Athènes et de ses environs* (Athens, 1835), pp. 153-7; his second in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1853, p. 1066, no. 2010; both are confused and inaccurate, and bear all the earmarks of having been written up from inadequate notes made long before, or even from memory. For a summary of the controversy about who actually discovered the spring, see Burnouf (cited below, note 6), pp. 39 ff.; Pittakis' affidavit, which seems not to have been known to Burnouf, must settle the question: *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, *loc. cit.*, note 1, and below, Appendix, Test. X.

<sup>6</sup> Burnouf, *La Ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes* (Paris, 1877), pp. 39-46, pp. 165-174, plates XIV-XVI, XIX, XX.

<sup>7</sup> *Δελτ. Ἀρχ.*, 1888, pp. 68, 92, 136, 183.



Figure 3

The west end of the Paved Court from the east, showing the wall of Valerian before its demolition. Klepsydra lies behind the giant boulder at the left. Beyond the wall of Valerian may be seen the pathway which leads here from below the Beulé Gate—the Turkish and modern successor to the Panathenaic way. The pole in the left foreground, which appears also in Figures 5 and 8, is modern and was later removed. Cf. Picard, *op. cit.*, plate 9, 3.



In 1896, the Archaeological Society began what was planned as the systematic exploration of the whole of the north slope of the Acropolis; during this first season the excavation reached the vicinity of Klepsydra: the late Roman cistern, and parts of the Valerian wall and the processional street were uncovered.<sup>8</sup>

The next year, in 1897, P. Kavvadias excavated the cave sanctuaries and the area to the east of them. This was begun as a part of the larger project, but soon



Figure 4

Klepsydra from the west. At the left may be seen the Paved Court, with the cypress trees beyond it.

Conspicuous in the foreground is a retaining wall of the Turkish period. Immediately behind it is the single course which is left here of the foundations of the wall of Valerian. Next come the remains of the Bastion of Odysseus, partially removed to show two blocks of the orthostate wall of Klepsydra. Above the orthostates, the heavy shadow is the entrance of the cleft which leads into the south end of the spring house (cf. Fig. 9). Left of the opening, and above it, may be seen the masonry of the chapel—the Roman well house.

overshadowed that in interest and importance; the chief result was, for the first time, a real appreciation of the place of the cave sanctuaries in Athenian history and topography. Its consequences were of direct interest to our particular study in two respects: Kavvadias called attention to the character of the sanctuary of Apollo as a Pythion; and he exposed a great part of the Paved Court, for the first time since antiquity.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Πρακτικά, 1896, pp. 17-20; *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1896, p. 460.

<sup>9</sup> 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1897, pp. 1-32, pp. 87-92, plates I-IV (the Paved Court, p. 87); Πρακτικά, 1897, pp. 10 ff.; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1897, pp. 226, 479; *B.C.H.*, XX, 1897, p. 382.



The books and articles which were the result of these investigations are the primary, the important, studies of Klepsydra and the Court. There was, of course, during the century following Pittakis' discovery, a number of other publications in which Klepsydra was discussed or mentioned; but few of them really contribute to knowledge of the spring. Four are perhaps worth citing here: <sup>10</sup> Christopher Wordsworth's account of the subterranean stairway and chapel, which was almost contemporaneous with Pittakis', but very much more lucid; the discussions by Bursian and Boetticher, important as the first studies of the buildings from a distinctly critical and archaeological point of view; and the sketch and comments by Ernest Breton which are the sole record of the frescoes which once covered the chapel walls.<sup>11</sup>

During the winter of 1936-1937 the staff of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens were notified that the government proposed to create a scenic boulevard around the Acropolis—a kind of modern version of the ancient peripatos—and would begin by paving that stretch of Acropolis Street which separated the southeast sections of the American Excavation zone from the Acropolis itself. It was obviously desirable that at least a part of this street should be archaeologically investigated before it was permanently sealed over by a layer of concrete. It was decided, therefore, to include a portion of the street and of the slope of the Acropolis above it in the program for the campaign of 1937.<sup>12</sup> The new section was given the name OA (Ὀδὸς Ἀκροπόλεως). Investigation of the wall of Valerian, and of the newly discovered Panathenaic street, inevitably led us up toward the cliffs: it was during this season that the whole of the Paved Court was exposed by the demolition of a stretch of the wall of Valerian which had covered much of its western end (Figs. 2-3, 5-6); and it was now that our curiosity was attracted by the problem of the Klepsydra.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> I have omitted handbooks; yet the following are, of course, basic to the study of any problem of Athenian topography: Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* (Leipzig, 1874 and 1890); Harrison and Verrall, *Mythol. and Mon. of Ancient Athens* (London, 1890); Harrison, *Primitive Athens as Described by Thucydides* (Cambridge, 1906); the commentaries in Hitzig and Blümner, *Pausanias, Graeciae descriptio* (Berlin, 1896), and in Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (2nd ed., London, 1913); Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (2nd ed., Munich, 1931); and, for the Acropolis especially, Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx Athenarum* (3rd ed., Bonn, 1901).

<sup>11</sup> Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica: Journal of a Residence There* (London, 1836), pp. 82-85; Bursian, *Philologus*, IX, 1854, p. 644; *Rh. Mus.*, X, 1856, p. 501; Boetticher, *Bericht über die Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen im Frühjahr 1862* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 220 f. (= Erbkm's *Zeitschrift f. Bauwesen*, XIII, 1863, p. 600), and *Philologus*, XXII, 1865, pp. 71 f.; Breton, *Athènes décrite et dessinée* (2nd ed., Paris, 1868), pp. 180-183. Breton was in Greece in the spring of 1859: E. Lovinesco, *Les voyageurs français en Grèce au XIX siècle* (Paris, 1909), p. 164.

<sup>12</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 331. For the location see the new general plan, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, plate I (opposite p. 308).

<sup>13</sup> Brief accounts of work on Klepsydra and the Paved Court in 1937 and succeeding years

In July of that year, the water was bailed out and the first study of the draw-basin was begun. It was soon clear, what had not been so from the descriptions of Pittakis and Burnouf, that the underground basin of the spring was a structure of the fifth century B.C., preserved practically intact; furthermore—this Burnouf *had*



Figure 5

The Paved Court and Klepsydra from the north. The planking close to the wall of the Court, in the right foreground, covers the original overflow channel of Klepsydra (A on the general plan). Above the south wall of the Court, against the right side of the big boulder, the masonry of the well house is visible. The door-like opening in the well-house wall against the boulder is modern: it was made during the period when the Bastion of Odysseus was standing, in order to make the water accessible from outside; but note that it does not appear in Breton's sketch (below, Fig. 21), drawn in 1859.

noted <sup>14</sup>—that it must have been accessible, originally, from the west, by an entrance now hidden beneath the masonry of the wall of Valerian and the bastion of Odysseus (Figs, 2, 4). During the campaign of 1938, a cleft was discovered among the rocks

have been included in Shear's annual reports on the Agora Excavations: *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 332-335; VIII, 1939, pp. 221-225; IX, 1940, pp. 296 f.; X, 1941, p. 7; cf. *J.H.S.*, LVII, 1937, p. 120; LVIII, 1938, p. 219; *Arch. Anz.*, LII, 1937, pp. 110 f.; LIII, 1938, pp. 549 f.

<sup>14</sup> Burnouf, *op. cit.*, p. 168.



above the remains of the bastion (Fig. 4); it seemed to lead in the right direction, and so it proved: as it was cleared, it led us over the original outer wall directly into the southwest corner of the spring house.

Now for the first time we had the key to the whole problem, the explanation of the complicated series of structures which covered the spring. It was apparent that



Figure 6

The Paved Court: the west end from the east. The picture is taken from the north wall. The three steps remaining of those which led up to the entrance are very evident here. The gap across the centre of the Court shows the line of the foundations of the transverse wall, of which several blocks are visible where they bond with the north wall. Particularly clear in this view are the foundations of the well house: small boulders and debris resting *over* the south wall of the Court—the common wall between Court and Klepsydra.

the original building, a spring house which enclosed the rectangular drawbasin on two sides, with a short stairway leading down to the basin from the entrance at the northwest corner (Figs. 29-30), had been set deep in a natural cave which closed it in at east and south, and formed its roof. At some time in antiquity, the rock roof caved in. It was still possible to draw water over the northwest corner of the basin,



but the fallen boulders so blocked and damaged much of the building that when in Roman times it was deemed wise to make the spring directly accessible from the Acropolis, no effort was made to salvage the old system; a vertical shaft was opened from above through the fallen boulders that had once formed the roof (Figs. 31, 33, 34), and over it was erected the apsidal well house of brick and concrete, which in mediaeval and modern times came to be used as a church.

Once it was discovered that the collapse of the original rock roof was the critical event in the history of Klepsydra, the working out of details was relatively simple. The campaigns of 1939 and 1940 were spent largely in examining these details, and in gathering such evidence for the chronology of various periods as was available. It may be noted in this connection that north and west of the buildings the ancient ground levels have been almost entirely cut away. This apparently happened for the most part during the period of the Turkish occupation of Athens, when the outwork was built which still runs below the north-west shoulder of the Acropolis, or during the construction of the Turkish wall of 1778 or of the bastion of Odysseus. Some work remains to be done about Klepsydra and the Paved Court, but the main outlines of their history as presented here seem securely established; future discoveries will probably cause revision only in matters of detail.



Figure 7

The cliff face south of the Court showing the cleft opposite the south end of the transverse wall, sealed with concrete masonry at the time of the construction of the well house. Cf. Picard, *op. cit.*, plate 9, 3.

## II. EMPEDO-KLEPSYDRA: NAME AND NATURE

### EMPEDO

"Klepsydra," says Hesychius,<sup>15</sup> "is a fountain which was formerly called Empedo." The dual naming reminds one of another and more famous fountain: one which was called Kallirrhoe in the days when it was but an open spring, but which has been called Enneakrounos ever since the tyrants turned the springs into a proper fountain with spouts and basins, as you see it now.<sup>16</sup> A similar history, I think, must explain the two names, earlier and later, of Klepsydra. Empedo was surely the name

<sup>15</sup> Appendix, Test. VI A; cf. VI B and IV.

<sup>16</sup> Thucydides, II, 15; Pausanias, I, 14, I. On the distinction between *πηγή* and *κρήνη*, see Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausanias, ad. loc.*, and Wycherley, *Class. Rev.*, LI, 1937, pp. 2 f.



Figure 8

The east end of the Paved Court from the west. The irregular foundations of the transverse wall are conspicuous in the foreground, and at the extreme left, the gap in the north wall of the Court where a well was driven through it in Turkish times. Notice the cave-like overhang of the cliff above the southeast corner; the dark spot in the floor just to the right of the post shows where the floor was crushed by a mass of limestone fallen from above. The careful arrangement of headers and stretchers in the east wall is clear, though the careful treatment of the surfaces and joints is not. The single remaining block of the topmost course may be seen, immediately to the right of the post, carefully fitted in against the overhanging rock. Note that a part of the north wall had not yet been freed from modern encumbrances when this picture was taken.



of the spring, the *πηγή*; Klepsydra, that given to it when the water was made readily accessible by the construction of the spring house, the *κρήνη*, in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.

Empedo may be formed in one of two ways: either from *ἔμπεδος* (A), meaning *firm set*, or *in the ground*, and so *steadfast*, or *continual*; or from *ἔμπεδος* (B), meaning *fettered* or *bound*. Hiller and Pape, relying on one of Hesychius' definitions, and on certain of the scholiasts' accounts, prefer the second derivation;<sup>17</sup> but the excavation has shown that the first is so singularly appropriate that there can be little doubt that it is the correct one. The spring fits perfectly both the literal and figurative meanings of *ἔμπεδος* (A): it is deep in the ground,—so deep, indeed, that the inlets to the classical drawbasin are something like six meters below the outside ground level,—while, unlike many small springs in this semi-arid land, Klepsydra is never dry.

We may regard it as certain, I believe, that Empedo was also the name of the nymph (dare we say "the constant nymph"?). For that there *was* a nymph here, and a cult place, too, long before the spring was embellished with any kind of formal structure, is more than probable. *Nullus fons non sacer*, Servius reminds us;<sup>18</sup> it must be almost literally true: these simple cults are everywhere in the Greek world, and everywhere, no doubt, among the earliest. Plato thought so: such sanctuaries, still tended in Attica in places that were in his time waterless, were to him sure signs that springs had once existed there, in that remote day when copious sources and ample streams had made the land a rich and fertile one.<sup>19</sup>

It is, of course, wholly in accord with general Greek practice that the name of the spring should be given to the nymph who haunted it, or the name of the nymph to her spring. In this case we may reasonably suppose that the nymph has her name from the spring. Yet Empedo has standing as a name quite independent of the spring, and in a context which suggests that it would have been considered appropriate as the name of a nymph—an Attic nymph. On a black-figured cup in Munich,<sup>20</sup> Theseus is shown with the young men and women who were sent with him to Crete; the artists have given the names of his companions: the last girl on the left, behind Athena, is called Empedo, ENTEΔΟ. The names of her four girl companions are Euanthe, Eunike, Anthyla, and Timo. Two of these, Euanthe<sup>21</sup> and Eunike,<sup>22</sup> bear names

<sup>17</sup> Hiller, *R.E.*, s. v. Empedo (this is the only article, so far, in *R.E.* on the spring; "Klepsydra" has not yet appeared); Pape-Benseler, *Gr. Eigenn.*, s. vv. ἔμπεδός, ἔνπεδός, Πεδός; *infra*, Appendix, Test. IB, IV, VI A and B.

<sup>18</sup> *Ad Aen.*, VII, 84.

<sup>19</sup> Plato, *Kritias*, 111C f.

<sup>20</sup> Munich, 2243, by Archikles and Glaukytes, ca. 540 B.C.: Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenm.*, III, 219 ff. (Buschor), pl. 153, 1; Hoppin, *Gr. Black-Figured Vases*, Archikles 3.\*

<sup>21</sup> Mother of the Charites, Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 15 (on the difficulty of distinguishing between nymphs and graces, especially in art, see Furtwängler in Roscher, *Lexicon*, s. v. Chariten, cols. 880, 882, 884, Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 544); the Charites in nymph-like contexts: Servius, *ad Aen.*, I, 720; *I.G.*, XIV, 1034 (Rome).

<sup>22</sup> A nereid: Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, I, 2, 7; a naiad: Theocritus, XIII, 45.



which occur elsewhere as the names of nymphs, or have nymph connections; the name of the third, Anthyla, appears on a black-figured hydria<sup>23</sup> as one of a group of girls (nymphs?) at a fountain; the name of the last, Timo, is not found, to my knowledge, in the world of mythology, but it has connections which are worth noting here: it is the name of a priestess of the chthonic gods in Paros, and the name of the fire-bearer who accompanied the Delphian Pythais of 106/5.<sup>24</sup>

#### KLEPSYDRA

Klepsydra is familiar, of course, in the sense of *water-thief*, as a name for that curious type of vase which is known also as "water-snatcher"; and still more familiar for the simplest form of water-clock or timer.<sup>25</sup> As a proper name it is rare, occurring but twice elsewhere: it is the name of the spring at Messene,<sup>26</sup> where we notice that it is the *πηγή*, and not the *κρήνη*, which is so called; and it is the nickname of a hetaira, from whom Euboulos borrowed it for the title of a play.<sup>27</sup>

It was doubtless because they interpreted the word in its primary sense of *water-thief* or *water-hider*, that ancient writers were led to invent the periodicity of Klepsydra's flow.<sup>28</sup> It is easy, for example, to see how Istros, or his authority, must have reasoned: *water-hiding*, of a spring, should mean that the spring sometimes runs dry, or nearly so, like the Inopos in Delos, or the Nile; but flood and low water in these we know depend on the Etesian winds; it is evident, therefore, that Klepsydra must get its name because it, too, rises and falls with those winds. It sounds plausible, but it is none the less a pure invention—the work of a too erudite scholar in his library. A visit to the spot, or a question asked of an Athenian living near by, and he would have found out, as we did, that the flow of Klepsydra is uncommonly steady. The clue to the meaning of the name as applied to the spring is to be found, I have no doubt, in the phrase from an unknown poet, possibly Callimachus, happily preserved for us

<sup>23</sup> In Würzburg: Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen in W.*, pl. 94, no. 304; cf. Eustathius *ad Il.*, I, 359 (p. 117, 46): the sister of Memnon, and a city named for her on the Nile.

<sup>24</sup> Priestess: Herodotus, VI, 134; fire-bearer, Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 711 D. Recall that *ἐμπεδος* = *χθόνιος*: Hesychius *s. v.* *ἐμπεδής*, quoting Hipponax (frg. 113, Bergk, *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup>, II, p. 495).

<sup>25</sup> Recently discussed by Suzanne Young, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 274 ff., who publishes the unique timer from the Agora. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, *s. v.* For the latest discussion of "water-snatchers," with full bibliography, see Robinson-Freeman, *C.V.A., Robinson Collection*, Baltimore, Fasc. 3, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Pausanias, IV, 31, 6; 33, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Athenaeus, 567 D (Asclepiades, frg. 1: *F.H.G.*, III, p. 306 [*F. Gr. Hist.*, II B, no. 157, p. 883]). No fragment is preserved (Kock, II, p. 182).

<sup>28</sup> Appendix, Test. I B, V, VIII. On the Inopos and its connection with the Nile, cf. Schoeffer, *R.E.*, *s. v.* Delos, col. 2463; on the Nile flood in general, Rehm, *R.E.*, *s. v.* Nilschwelle; on the Etesian winds, the *meltemia* of the modern Greek sailor, which blow in July and August, Neumann-Partsch, *Phys. Geogr. v. Griechenland*, pp. 95 f., and Rehm, *R.E.*, *s. v.* Etesiai.

by Hesychius, *κλειψήρρυτον ὕδωρ*, "secretly (or stealthily) flowing water."<sup>29</sup> An apter phrase for the water of Klepsydra could scarcely be found: no movement of the water is normally visible;<sup>30</sup> the inlets are deep below the surface, the overflow makes its way out by natural channels concealed among the rocks; but there is, actually, a steady flow, and unless heavy demands are made upon it the water maintains its level.

Empedo-Klepsydra is the most copious of the series of small springs—the *νάματα σμικρά* of Plato<sup>31</sup>—which girdle the Acropolis. They appear, typically, at the base of the cliffs, where the grey limestone cap of the Acropolis rests on layers of schist and marl.<sup>32</sup> The limestone is full of crevices and cracks, and the rain water which falls on the Acropolis runs off through these, and down until it reaches the relatively impermeable schist; there it collects. The limestone thus acts as a kind of gigantic reservoir, of which the schist forms the floor; it is the water seeping through wherever it can find an outlet along the "joint," which forms the series of little springs. Since the whole rock formation tilts slightly toward the northwest, it is naturally here that the most powerful spring is created.

Klepsydra's origin in the crevices of the limestone explains some of its chief characteristics: its hardness, for its lime-content is extremely high, even for Athenian water; and its temperature, for while it is cool, it lacks the icy coldness of a mountain-born spring. These are the qualities which have led people to describe it, ever since antiquity, as brackish and unfit for drinking. Its origin also explains some of the lore which grew up about the spring in antiquity; the story that its depth was unplumbable, and the corollary that it connected by underground channels with Phaleron,<sup>33</sup> were obviously the result of the fact that the limits of the cleft where the spring house was built could not be fixed. Its depth could not be sounded, nor its length measured; it was for practical purposes endless.

### III. EMPEDO: TO THE TIME OF THE PERSIAN WARS

As early as the end of the Neolithic period the men of Athens began to use the water of Empedo.<sup>34</sup> The cave at the base of the cliff cannot have been very different

<sup>29</sup> Appendix, Test. VI B; the suggestion that the phrase comes from Callimachus goes back to Meineke, *ad Callim.*, p. 220; Callimachus' interest in Athenian springs, Strabo, 397. In *κλειψήρρυτον*, occurring only here, there is an evident play on *ἐπίρρυτον*, the usual word for ordinary running water: Theophrastus, *Caus. plant.*, III, 8, 3; *Hist. plant.*, V, 9, 5; *Geop.*, II, 6, 33.

<sup>30</sup> Boetticher believed that he detected a flow toward the west (*Bericht*, p. 220), but he must have been deceived, perhaps by currents of air stirring the surface slightly.

<sup>31</sup> *Kritias*, 112 D.

<sup>32</sup> All this is based entirely on Lepsius, *Geologie von Attika* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 6 and 53, pl. I, *profil 1*; it is accessible also in Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 43 ff., figs. 6, 7 (from Lepsius).

<sup>33</sup> Appendix, Test. IB, V, VI A, VI B.

<sup>34</sup> The account which follows of the north slope of the Acropolis in prehistoric times is only a

then from what it is now, save that its overhang was undoubtedly greater. Whether the water then came to the surface actually within the cave, or whether it seeped out a little lower on the slope, we cannot well be certain. But whatever and wherever its appearance, the Neolithic folk knew of it and used it: within a short radius of the spring, we have discovered and excavated no less than twenty shallow wells or pits, the purpose of which was clearly to tap the underground vein of water. Although we have found no certain traces of the dwellings of the people who dug these wells,—perhaps they lived in the caves which were later to become sanctuaries: *antea specus erant pro domibus* (Pliny, VII, 194),—the series of pots, other artifacts, and human and animal bones recovered from the wells form by far the largest collection of material yet found from the Neolithic period in Athens.<sup>35</sup>

From this time on the spring was almost constantly in use, with a few exceptions which are rather puzzling. There is, for example, no good evidence for activity in the region of Empedo during the early Bronze Age. This may be pure chance:<sup>36</sup> we have noticed the extent to which ancient accumulations have been disturbed or removed in this area; and occupation in Early Helladic times is well attested in other parts of the Acropolis slope.

In Middle Helladic times, Empedo seems to have been much frequented; a number of wells, deeper and altogether better made than those of the Neolithic period, have produced a long series of vases and other objects of the fabrics and types characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>37</sup>

The Mycenaean activity on the north slope of the Acropolis is particularly well documented. Broneer's recent discovery shows us that the Mycenaean lords of Athens were considerably concerned about the water supply of the citadel, that through the largest of all known clefts in the limestone cap they reached the natural underground reservoir at the base of the rock, and thus secured for themselves a source which, like Perseia at Mycenae, could not be cut off by besiegers.<sup>38</sup> But this source was inaccessible to the humbler people who lived, not on the Acropolis, but below it; they continued to depend, as their predecessors had done, on Empedo for their water. Just west of Klepsydra we have excavated a well which was filled up during the late

sketch, and makes no pretense to completeness either in subject matter or in bibliography. Hansen, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 539 ff., publishes the pottery from the excavations of the American School, covering every period from Neolithic through Mycenaean. Members of the Italian School in Athens found traces of habitation over a long period on the south slope of the Acropolis: *Annuario*, IV/V, 1921-22, p. 490; *Boll. d'Arte*, IV, 1924-25, pp. 88 f. I have not had access to the recent final publication.

<sup>35</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 297 f.

<sup>36</sup> It was not until our third season, for example, that we found any Mycenaean deposits.

<sup>37</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 335 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 317-433; for his earlier Mycenaean discoveries, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 352 ff., and VI, 1937, pp. 559 ff. Cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 123-127.



Mycenaean period, and, about 50 meters toward the east, a second one, approximately contemporary; while actually beneath the floor of the Paved Court there are two large rectangular pits, the contents of which date from about the same time.<sup>39</sup> These deposits seem to be nearly contemporaneous with the Mycenaean fountain farther east. A third well, close to the east side of the Court, was in use later, to the very end of the Mycenaean period.

For the following period, the Geometric, evidence is as scarce as for the early Helladic period. But while in the latter case it seemed likely that chance had played a part, the situation with regard to the Geometric period is somewhat different. Everywhere on the Acropolis and its slopes, traces of Geometric occupation are relatively rare. This is not strange, for we know that in Athens, some, and probably most of the people of that time, lived in the more level parts of the town, and that, in general, the Geometric peoples were not citadel-builders or dwellers.

But a little later, as we reach the historical period, we have once again ample evidence of human activity on the slope about Klepsydra. We have found and cleared eight wells, in the area immediately below the spring, which were filled up at a time close to that when we believe the first permanent spring house was built, that is, sometime during the quarter century following the Persian Wars.<sup>40</sup> The contents of these wells are of some interest for the history of this region on the northwest slope of the Acropolis. In each case we found that the bulk of the filling of the well had been thrown in at one time, and that this fill, while composed largely, of course, of broken pottery, most of it very fragmentary and representing a long period of time, contained also large quantities of such debris as broken roof tile, broken up sun-dried brick, neat polygonal building-stones such as are commonly used in the foundations of houses or other small buildings, paving slabs, and several trimmed saplings. It was abundantly clear that the wells had not served simply as receptacles for ordinary domestic rubbish,—the usual fate of disused wells in antiquity,—but had been filled up as the result of a thorough-going cleaning-up of the neighborhood: a cleaning-up so thorough as to include, apparently, the complete dismantling of a number of small buildings, or at least the complete disposal of the remains of such buildings (they might, of course, have been previously demolished).

These wells, dug we know not when—probably during the seventh or the sixth century—and closed up not many years after the Persian invasion, certainly before the middle of the century, are the last that were made in the region of Klepsydra for many hundreds of years. This is hardly coincidence. Until now the water of Empedo, deep under the rock at the back of the cave, had been hard to get at; it was as easy, perhaps easier, to dig a well nearby and so tap the water before it reached the surface. With the construction of the new spring house, such wells were no longer necessary; the water could now be easily drawn from the source itself.

<sup>39</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 7, and fig. 7.

<sup>40</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 221 ff.

## IV. KLEPSYDRA AND PAVED COURT: PERIOD I

Klepsydra and the Paved Court as we know them are clearly parts of the building program initiated after the defeat of the Persians (Fig. 36). Klepsydra is the descendant of Empedo; we do not know what may have preceded the Paved Court, but there is no evidence that either had a structural history before this time: the two buildings are, so far as we can judge, completely new. That they are not only contemporary but parts of a single scheme is evident: the material and workmanship are identical throughout, and they actually share a wall in common, Klepsydra's north, the Court's south wall (Figs. 29-30); such ceramic evidence as is available also bears this out.

The streamlets which feed Empedo bubble out at the back of the cave, at a point nearly six meters below the level of the ground at the entrance. The architect's problem, in converting *πηγή* to *κρήνη*, was to make the water conveniently accessible without destroying or wholly masking the essential character of the natural cave: for the feeling was old and strong that a special quality belonged to the natural state of the cave where a god dwelt.<sup>41</sup> The architect had to install modern plumbing, as it were, while still retaining the atmosphere of the old oaken bucket. How much re-fashioning of the cave was actually necessary, it would be difficult to say; but it is clear that it was, at most, only a little. He solved his problem in a direct and simple way: a reference to a sectional drawing through the Cave of the Nymphs at Vari<sup>42</sup> will give the reader a notion of what that problem was; our sections (Figures 32 and 33) show the solution.

The heart of the design is, of course, the rectangular drawbasin, sunk deep enough to reach the actual point of issue of the water (Figs. 9-18, 29-35). The basin is enclosed on two sides by a platform flush with its margin, from which the water could be drawn over a railing; the platform itself was reached by a flight of eight steps which descended from the northwest corner of the building. The living rock formed the roof and most of the east wall; at the south, where the cleft, of course, continued on under the rock, the spring house was closed by carrying the masonry up to meet the roof; but it remained open, as the cave had been, toward the west and, evidently, toward the north; the west wall reached only to the level of the ground at the cave entrance: the triple set-back of its upper courses helped to increase the light

<sup>41</sup> We have but to raise our eyes a little from Klepsydra to see three striking manifestations of this feeling—I mean the three cave sanctuaries. Most shrines of the nymphs are good examples: the Corycian cave, that at Vari, the Nymphaion on Parnes. Where architectural adornment has been added, as at Claros or Cyrene, it is likely to be only a façade, the cave itself is essentially untouched (on such mantic caves, see Elderkin, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 125 ff.). Expression of this feeling in literature: Seneca, *Epist.*, 41, 3; Ovid, *Metam.*, III, 158 f.; Juvenal, *Sat.*, III, 17 ff.; cf. Kern, *Rel. d. Gr.*, I, p. 81.

<sup>42</sup> *A.J.A.*, VII, 1903, pl. II; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 273, 274.



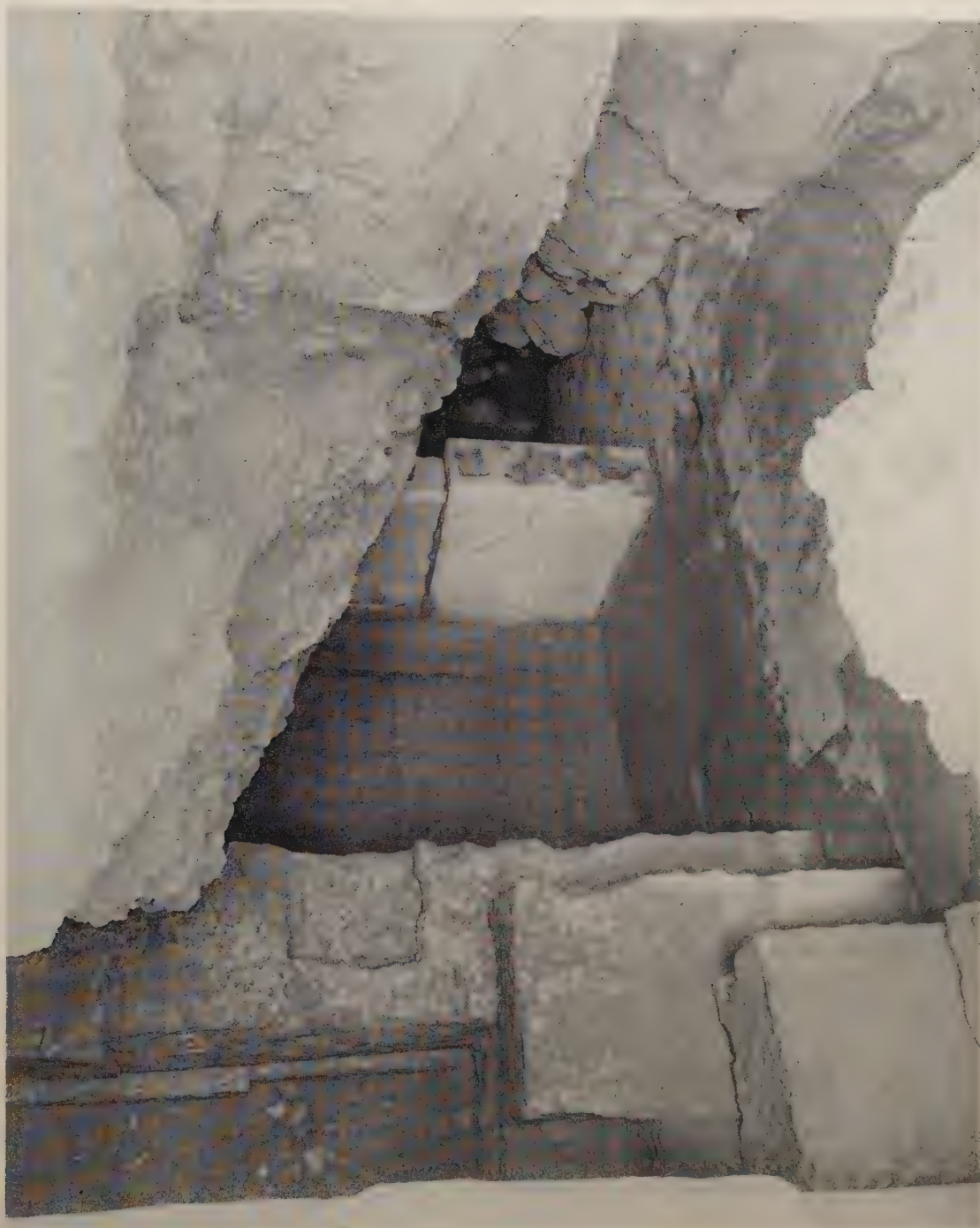


Figure 9

Looking down into the southwest corner of the spring house from the west. The view is taken over the orthostate wall through the crevice by which we reached the spring house. In the immediate foreground are the three set-backs of the west wall; notice the socket for a vertical post in the lowest. Beyond, in shadow, is the paving of the platform above the drawbasin; then a block, and part of a second, of the Hellenistic marble parapet; behind these, in turn, the heavy shadow under the rock marks the position of the south end of the drawbasin. It is just possible to see here the care with which the blocks of the south wall are fitted against the rock roof. The great mass of limestone which fills most of the left side of the picture is one of those that fell in the first century of our era.



and air within; the parapet of orthostates with its triangular coping provided a measure of seclusion, and prevented unwary passersby from falling into the spring house: it was as essential for this purpose as the wooden rail about the edge of the drawbasin.

As the design of Klepsydra was to a large extent the direct result of the need of fitting it into the existing cave, so it is obvious that the peculiar shape of the Paved Court was also forced upon it by its situation (Figs. 5-8, 29-30): the spring house and the line of the cliff east of it combine to give the south wall of the Court its two directions; the line of the north wall was fixed by the Peripatos, which, though no trace of it now exists, must inevitably have passed here (Figs. 36-37); at the northwest corner of the Court it met the Street of the Panathenaia, which swung southwestward here and gave to the western end of the court its extremely awkward shape.

We can say much less about the Court than about Klepsydra. It is clear, I think, that it *was* a court and not a covered building. For one thing, there are no traces of adequate interior supports, which would be desirable, although not essential, in a building of this size—the transverse wall and the posthole in the center of the eastern half of the building belong to a later period. Furthermore, and this is perhaps a more compelling argument, had a roof been intended, the architect would certainly have designed his building without the awkward angles which would make the present one so difficult to cover. There is no direct evidence for a restoration of the walls of the Court. We may guess, but it is only a guess, that they were carried up to the same height as the walls of Klepsydra and that, like them, they were crowned by a parapet with a coping.



Figure 10

Looking along the west wall of the spring house into the southwest corner. The set-backs begin at the top of the highest visible course of the wall at the right. Notice how this wall has settled beneath the weight of the fallen boulders, one of which appears in the upper left corner (this is the boulder referred to in the text to Fig. 9). Despite the heavy coating of lime deposit which covers most of the surfaces, it is possible to see that the faces of the blocks were originally carefully tooled and without drafting.

The masonry, throughout the two buildings, is of poros, fairly hard, and shading in color from a pale gray to a pale buff; the only exceptions to this are found in the east wall of the Court (Fig. 8) and the orthostate wall of the spring house (Fig. 4), where a harder poros, almost a limestone, bright buff in color, is used, and in the



Figure 11

Looking into the drawbasin over the marble parapet, from the southwest. Notice the rock wall overhanging the masonry at the east; the "euthynteria" at the north, east, and south sides; the reused material in the floor; the three inlets—marked by the broken ends of the marble tiles projecting from the east wall.

stairway, which is built of a very hard gray poros. The material was obviously new and cut for the buildings, save only some blocks in the floor of the drawbasin which seem to be second hand (Figs. 11, 15).

The workmanship is of the high quality which would be expected in buildings of the period to which ours belong. An index of this quality is the pains which have



been expended in dressing the rock and fitting the individual blocks to it (Fig. 9), wherever the walls abut upon it. The same care is evident in the walls themselves: we note the almost invisible bevelling of the joints, and the careful tooling of exposed surfaces, conspicuous where the walls have received their final dressing and have not been seriously damaged since; the best examples are the east wall of the court (Fig. 8) and the orthostate wall (Fig. 4), and, to some extent, the west wall of the spring house below the set-backs (Fig. 10).

What looks like drafting is visible in many parts of the buildings. But it is clear that it is a technical and not a decorative device. The facts that all faces which are certainly finished are free from drafting (Fig. 10), and that the drafting, where it exists, is very irregular, are sufficient indication that it was intended to be cut away (Fig. 16). It shows simply that the buildings, especially the Court, were never completely finished, a fact of some significance to which we shall return later.

There are details of both buildings which deserve our attention; let us look first at the spring house.<sup>43</sup>

The drawbasin, which is, as it were, the essence of the whole matter, has a number of interesting features.<sup>44</sup> We may note, first of all, that while three of its walls rest on a kind of euthynteria,<sup>45</sup> the fourth, the west wall, rests directly on the slabs of the floor (Figs. 11-12, 14-15). The explanation is obvious: the direction of the cleft is such that only at the west (Figs. 32-33) could the builder find a natural foundation of rock or hardpan; elsewhere the walls must be based on fill (natural or artificial, we cannot tell). Two pairs of stout transverse beams, the sockets for which are conspicuous in the photographs and drawings (Figs. 13-14, 18, 30, 32-35), crossed the basin from east to west; they were of wood, to judge from the size of the sockets, and must have been built in at the time of construction in the hope of offsetting any possible tendency of the cleft to close.

But perhaps the most curious feature of the structure is the inlets. First of all, it must be remembered that they are not spouts in the ordinary sense of the word. They are set close to the foot of the east wall (Figs. 15-16), and serve simply as a means of communication between the drawbasin and the natural reservoir in which it was set; the character of the basin and the function of the inlets is perhaps made clear by saying that it is like a live-bait box lowered into the cleft; through the inlets the water circulates freely, and in the drawbasin, therefore, will always stand at the

<sup>43</sup> Approximate over-all dimensions of the spring house, including the orthostate wall toward the west, but not the platform west of it, and the full thickness of the north wall, are  $8.50 \times 6.70$  m.; the total vertical depth, from the top of the coping on the orthostate wall to the floor of the basin, is *ca.* 7.925 m. Wall courses throughout, with only a few exceptions, are uniformly 0.40 m. high.

<sup>44</sup> Maximum dimensions of the drawbasin: *ca.* 4.50 m.  $\times$  *ca.* 2.35 m.  $\times$  *ca.* 4.00 m. deep (from the western margin).

<sup>45</sup> With a projection of *ca.* 0.10 m.





Figure 12

The north end of the drawbasin from the south. The line of the rock is clear at the upper right. The patched masonry of the northeast corner can be distinguished at the right, approximately midway of the picture's height. The horizontal white line marks the modern water level. The pipe is modern and was later removed (cf. Fig. 17).





Figure 13

Like the preceding, but showing the upper part of the walls. Over the northwest corner of the basin is the marble well beam, wedged in beneath the rock, resting, at the left, on the northernmost block of the marble parapet. The two sockets for the transverse beams are conspicuous in the west wall.



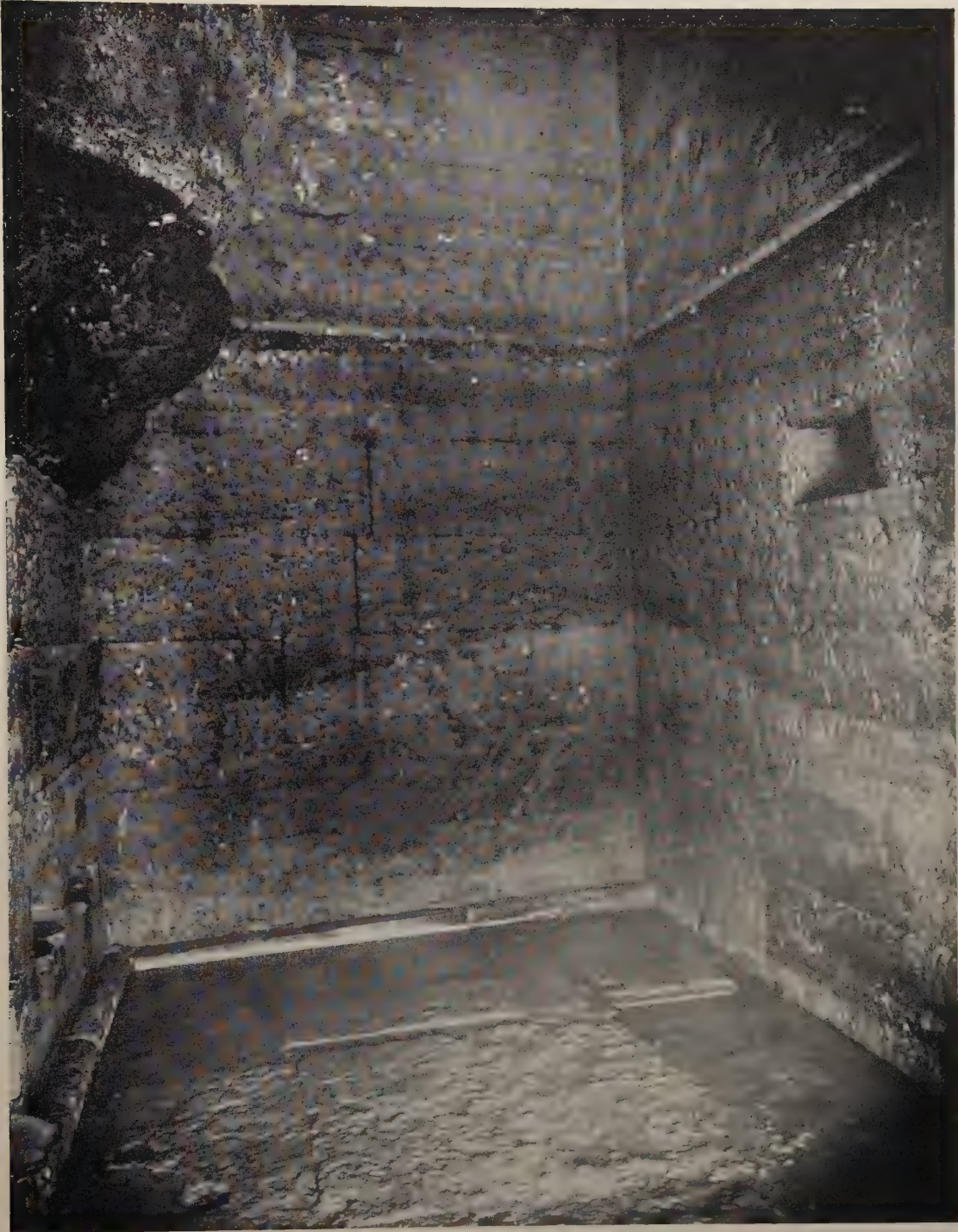


Figure 14

The south end of the basin from the north. Notice the inlets at the lower left, and the beam socket at the right, in the west wall. This view gives a suggestion of the general quality of the masonry, where it has survived relatively undamaged.



same level as in the surrounding rocks. This means that the inlets were, normally, well below the surface; and it is surprising, therefore, to note the care which has been spent upon them. There were originally at least four: three are preserved near the south end of the east wall (Figs. 15-16, 34); the fourth, near the north end of that wall, was destroyed when the wall was repaired at a later period, but the bottom of

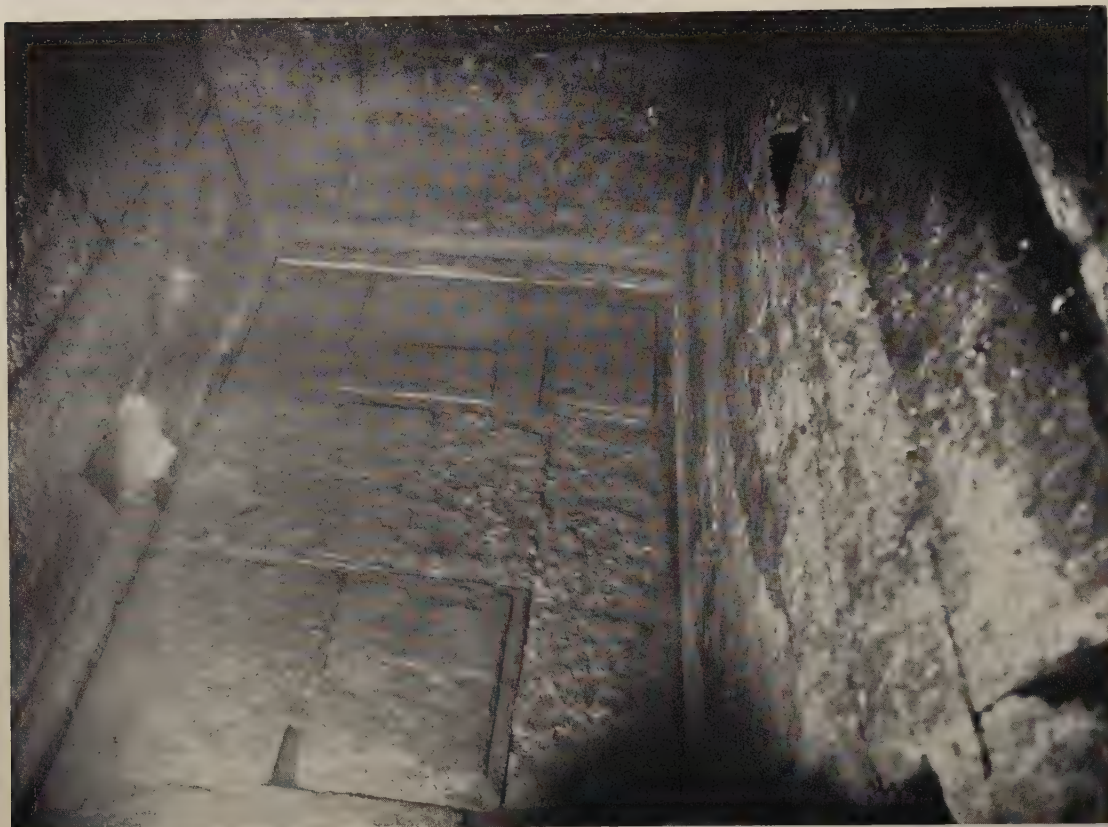


Figure 15

The southeast corner of the basin, showing the three inlets in the east wall.

the cutting is still visible in the upper edge of the first course of masonry (Fig. 34). The inlets are painstakingly cut, in two cases with arched openings, to slope toward the interior of the basin; they were fashioned to accommodate, with astonishing precision, what appear to be pieces of ordinary roof-tile of coarse-grained island marble, here used as lining for the inlet floors. The tiles are long enough to extend through the wall and touch the rock at the points where, when the water level is lowered so that they are exposed, the streams running from the limestone are most copious; and each one does actually carry a stream like an ordinary fountain spout, until the water again rises enough to cover them. As if to further the illusion that this was a *bona*

*fide* fountain a circular hollow has been carefully scooped out—not worn, be it noted—beneath the lowest spout, evidently to accommodate a small jug or pitcher (Figs. 16, 32, 34).<sup>46</sup>



Figure 16

Closer view of the three inlets. The construction, with marble tiles used to line the floors, is very clear. Notice the circular hollow beneath the rectangular inlet, and how carefully it has been made where it cuts the "euthynteria." Notice also the stream of water flowing from this inlet; and the evidently temporary character of the drafting on the blocks of the wall.

A heavy parapet of reused blocks of marble now crowns the west wall of the drawbasin (Figs. 9, 18, 35); and at the north end a small well-beam rests upon it (Figs. 13, 17). This is, of course, not the original arrangement. The two small rectangular sockets in the south wall of the spring house above the parapet wall, now

<sup>46</sup> In a normal fountain it would have served the same purpose as the much larger cuttings beneath the spouts of the Sacred Spring at Corinth: Dunkley, *B.S.A.*, XXXVI, 1935-36, p. 174, pl. 24; Richardson, *A.J.A.*, VI, 1902, p. 311, pl. X, and fig. 3.





Figure 17

The marble well beam over the northwest corner of the drawbasin. The molding on the face of the beam can be seen, and the pulley-hole in the center. The northernmost block of the marble parapet, at the left, rests on the battered west wall of the drawbasin. The walling-up beneath the well beam dates from the period of the well house. Originally, of course, the well beam and its supports framed an opening like a small door, so that the rope and bucket could be reached and manipulated from the platform at the foot of the steps.



partially concealed by the southernmost block of marble, were clearly made to hold wooden railings (Figs. 18, 32):<sup>47</sup> the original parapet must have been a simple fence, like a porch railing with a horizontal beam above and one below, and a number of



Figure 18

The upper southwest corner of the drawbasin. In the west wall, one of the sockets for a transverse beam is conspicuous, and just below it a dark line which indicates the (or an) ancient water level. Above the west wall are the two southern blocks of the marble parapet. The smaller of the two partially masks the two small sockets in the south wall which held the original wooden railings. Notice the deeply worn grooves in the lip of the west wall, which appear to date from an interim period when there was neither railing nor parapet.

uprights between. This railing was about 0.85 m. high. There is a third and much larger socket,<sup>48</sup> directly above the sockets for the railing (Fig. 32). It looks as if it had been made to hold a heavy, horizontal, wooden beam, parallel to the railing and about 0.65 m. above it, but it is not easy to see what function such a beam could have

<sup>47</sup> The sockets are *ca.* 0.15 m. high, and *ca.* 0.20 m. wide.

<sup>48</sup> *Ca.* 0.20 m. high, 0.40 m. wide, and a maximum of *ca.* 0.25 m. deep.



performed in this place. It is so low—only about 1.50 m. above the floor of the platform—that only a small person could have leaned over the railing below it without inconvenience; and it does not seem to answer any structural need. There is one possibility: the socket is at approximately the same level as the later well beam over the north end of the basin; it may be that it served a similar purpose; conceivably, that is, it supported one or more pulleys or similar devices, by which buckets could be lowered and raised more easily than by hand.<sup>49</sup>

The stairway by which one descended to the paved platform above the basin from the northwest corner of the spring house was composed of eight low steps (Figs. 30, 33, 35). Most of the stairway is permanently concealed beneath the fallen rock and the concrete foundations of the well house, but we were able to make sure that the two top steps were cut from one massive block (Fig. 29), and to fix the position of the bottom step. The coursing can be seen in the northwest corner of the platform; there are but four courses, each about 0.50 m. high, so that it is clear that not merely the top two, but all the steps were cut in pairs.

The west wall of the spring house rests on the slabs of the platform floor;<sup>50</sup> these, like the slabs at the west edge of the drawbasin floor, should have rested on rock: the settling of the wall under the pressure of the fallen roof shows that they were not as firmly based as was intended (Fig. 10).



Figure 19

The interior of the well house as we found it, from the entrance. The floor shown here lies nearly a meter higher than the ancient one, and conceals the three rock-cut steps which led down to the well in antiquity: cf. Figs. 31, 33, 34. The well curb is ancient. The circular opening above the well is that made by the builders of the Bastion in 1822; the opening at the right is still later, cf. text to Fig. 5. Notice here and in Figs. 20 and 21 that the side walls, to shoulder-height, approximately, are cut from the living rock, with the brick barrel-vault above, but that the whole of the apsidal end is of masonry.

<sup>49</sup> How such pulleys might be hung is shown by a wooden well-head of Roman times found at Saalburg, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, VII, 1888, p. 289 and pl. 7.

<sup>50</sup> The platform averages *ca.* 1.75 m. in width; the wall above, to the first setback, is *ca.* 1.60 m. high.

The setbacks in the three upper courses of this wall (Figs. 9, 32, 33) have already been referred to: by bringing the wall into closer relation with the conformation of the ground, they make not only for economy of material, but for greater strength; and by creating a line roughly parallel to that of the rock roof, they considerably increase the size of the opening through which light may enter.<sup>51</sup> The north wall of the spring house, the common wall between Klepsydra and the Paved Court (Figs. 5-6, 34-35), has suffered such damage that we have no direct evidence as to the



Figure 20

The well house from the center of the east end.

character of its upper courses. But it is a stout wall, of two faces of stretchers, back to back, with a total thickness of just over a meter and a half. I do not think we need hesitate about restoring it on the analogy of the west wall, but, because of the narrower width, with a setback in only two courses at the top, instead of in three (Figs. 30, 35).

The topmost course of the west wall was extended toward the west to form a platform at or about the level of the ground outside the cave (Fig. 30). We cannot say much about this platform, since it is largely concealed by later masonry which could not be removed (Fig. 4): it was *ca.* 1.60 m. wide, and was faced at the west with a wall

<sup>51</sup> The device of slanting the lintel or the sill, or both, of an opening to let in more light is familiar in ancient as in modern architecture; the best examples in Athens are in the Odeion of Herodes: cf. Versakis, *'Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1912, p. 167, fig. 7, pl. 9 and pl. 12.



of small trapezoidal blocks of Acropolis limestone. I have no guess as to the significance of the limestone wall nor the function of the platform. At its inner edge, at the top of the last setback, rested the barrier of orthostates which closed the spring house at this side. Four orthostates are still in position, almost undamaged (Figs. 4, 29, 30, 32-33, 35);<sup>52</sup> a single fragment of the coping which they once carried is preserved, wedged beneath the sagging boulders at the south end; it is large enough so that we could recover its profile.

The crisis in Klepsydra's structural history was, we have said, the collapse of the rock which formed its roof, and there is evidence to suggest that this was a contingency which the builders had feared, and from the beginning, had hoped to anticipate. This must have been, I think, the explanation of the four heavy transverse beams built into the drawbasin; by this device the architect evidently hoped to prevent such a settling of rock as that, for example, which later crushed the northeast corner of the basin. And the best explanation, I believe, of the rectangular sockets in the lowest setback of the west wall of the spring house (Figs. 9, 29, 30, 35), is to suppose that they held stout wooden posts intended to brace the roof.<sup>53</sup> The position selected for the columns was determined, obviously, by the belief that the west wall was, in fact, as firmly based as it was intended to be. It is not possible to decide whether the columns were in any way architecturally ornamented. The general effect, in any case, was perhaps something like that of Peirene at Corinth, for example, in its earlier phases.<sup>54</sup>



Figure 21

Breton's sketch of the well house, made in 1859, or earlier, while the frescoes were yet visible on the walls.

There was no formal outlet from the drawbasin: the "bait-box" construction of the basin makes this unnecessary.<sup>55</sup> There is, of course, an overflow; when the

<sup>52</sup> The orthostates are just under 0.90 m. high, *ca.* 0.50 m. thick, and *ca.* 1.75 m. long.

<sup>53</sup> The sockets are *ca.* 0.40 m. square. There is another, very similar, socket in the floor of the Court, against the northeast corner of the spring house.

<sup>54</sup> Morgan, *Ancient Corinth, a Guide to the Excavations* (3rd. ed., Athens, 1936), p. 34, pp. 36 f. and fig. 6.

<sup>55</sup> Schazmann describes and illustrates a Hellenistic fountain in the Asklepieion at Kos which was fed, like Klepsydra, by underground water, but without either formal inlet or outlet, apparently: Herzog, *Kos, I, Asklepieion*, pp. 58 ff., pls. 30-33.

water reaches a certain level in the cleft, it runs off to the north through natural channels in the rock, to collect beneath the floor of the Paved Court. At present it reappears as a lively stream in the foundation trench of the transverse wall near the center of the Court, where the channels of the Roman and later periods picked it up. Originally, however, it seems to have been allowed to collect in the Mycenaean pits beneath the floor of the Court: the original overflow channel (*A* on the plan, Figure 29) started from the northeast corner of the eastern pit. We may note in this connection that it was not until Turkish times that the water of Klepsydra was piped off in the direction of the Market of Caesar and Augustus; and it is unlikely that it ever served to run the water-clock in the Horologion of Andronicus;<sup>56</sup> throughout antiquity it was carried in a northwesterly direction, clearly toward the ancient Agora.

The water level within the basin was at least as high in antiquity as it is today; a clearly marked line shows that at some period, and for a considerable time, it stood somewhat higher (Figs. 12-14, 18);<sup>57</sup> it can never, I think, have fallen very much lower. There is a reliable indication of this: in the face of the north wall of the drawbasin, close to the northwest corner, a bottle-shaped depression has been hollowed out (Figs. 12-13, 34-35), the purpose of which was, of course, to permit jars and buckets, lowered from the well-beam above, to hang more or less vertically in the water and not be tilted by striking against the wall.<sup>58</sup> The deepest point (measured from the face of the wall, of course) of the hollow must have been below the water level, or it would not have performed its function. This point is only about 0.30 m. below the present water level; the minimum level in antiquity, therefore, is not likely to have been more than, say 0.15 to 0.20 m. below what it is now.

We have said that the flow of Klepsydra is unusually constant. This statement is based only partly on measurement, partly on observation. An approximate measurement made in 1937 shows that in August of that year its capacity was not less than 100 litres (*ca.* 25 gals.) per hour, probably a great deal more. In July, August, and September, the spring is (*pace Istri*) at its lowest. We have no exact figures for the winter months; the flow increases perceptibly, but not to anything like the figure suggested by Pittakis: ten times the summer flow.<sup>59</sup> But about 2000 people, besieged in the Acropolis from July, 1826, to the end of May, 1827, depended largely, if not

<sup>56</sup> The rather natural supposition that it did, originated with Stuart and Revett, and has been generally accepted since; only Walter calls attention to the fact that Klepsydra's slender stream might be inadequate to run the mechanism of such a clock: *Fuehrer durch Griechenland*, 1, *Athen* (Vienna, 1929), p. 12.

<sup>57</sup> The two water-lines are marked on the sections by broken lines; the modern, which is very conspicuous as a band of white in the photographs, is the lower.

<sup>58</sup> The depression is so deep and so symmetrical that I am forced to conclude that it is at least partly artificial. In most fountains it must be simply the result of wear; a good photograph of such wear: Schazmann, *Pergamon*, VI, *das Gymnasion*, p. 24, fig. 4.

<sup>59</sup> *Ancienne Athènes*, p. 156 f.: July and August, 160 okas per day; in winter, 1600.



wholly, on Klepsydra for their water, and found it sufficient; when they surrendered, it was not because of thirst.<sup>60</sup>

The single most surprising fact about Klepsydra at this period, to most of us, is perhaps that it could not be reached directly from the Acropolis. It has been com-



Figure 22

The reservoir (sixth century after Christ) seen from above, from the southwest. Note the remains of the wall of Valerian along the west side. The water of Klepsydra was piped into it near its southwest corner (see p. 249).

monly assumed, and rather naturally so, that it must have been at least accessible from the Acropolis, if not actually included in an outwork of the fortifications, from an early period, as early even as Mycenaean times. The partially rock-cut stairway which leads from the vaulted well house up to the classical bastion west of the Propylaia, has been thought to be prehistoric;<sup>61</sup> even when it has been recognized

<sup>60</sup> S. Trikoupis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως*, IV (London, 1857), pp. 162 f.

<sup>61</sup> Even by so recent a writer as Picard, *l'Acropole, l'enceinte, etc.*, p. 11.

that it was not earlier than Roman, it has frequently been supposed that it simply replaced some earlier but essentially similar scheme.

Yet the history of successive sieges of the Acropolis, in every case where we have any information, suggests that quite the opposite was true. We are expressly told that Kylon in the seventh century, and Aristion in the first, were both forced to yield through lack of water;<sup>62</sup> and it was thirst which forced the Turks to surrender in 1822.<sup>63</sup> It is clear that no permanent spring can have been included ordinarily within the walls and that the normal water supply of the Acropolis was not adequate for a long siege. Wise defenders made special provision to supplement the supply; the Peisistratids planned for water as well as for food when they were beleaguered in the Acropolis in 510 B.C.;<sup>64</sup> the Greeks of 1826, 2300 years later, had the foresight to enclose Klepsydra in the massive bastion of Odysseus.<sup>65</sup>

Further indication of the difficulty of supplying the garrison with water is found in the extensive efforts which were made, at all periods, to provide storage on the summit of the hill itself. Broneer's recent and brilliant discovery of the Mycenaean fountain in the rock wall northwest of the Erechtheum has shown us for the first time the extent of the precautions which the Athenians of that period felt they must take to secure water for their citadel.<sup>66</sup> Extensive remains of a storage system which dates perhaps from pre-Persian, certainly from pre-Periclean times, may still be seen near the northwest corner of the plateau.<sup>67</sup> Somewhat later, to the Classical or Hellenistic period, belong the five shafts in the rock just north of the Parthenon: they are the mouths of cisterns of the ordinary bottle-shaped variety, if one may judge from the very brief published references to them.<sup>68</sup> Late Roman in its present form is the great reservoir which occupies the northeast wing of the Propylaia, but it may well represent a rebuilding or a reworking of an earlier structure;<sup>69</sup> it is the only ancient cistern on the Acropolis, so far as I know, which dates from a period when the water of Klepsydra was also probably available from above.

The building of cisterns on the citadel continued throughout the middle ages and the Turkish period. A number have been demolished in modern times, and no external evidence is available for dating exactly those which remain; as examples of such cisterns, we may recall two small tanks which are still to be seen near the north wall of the Acropolis, a third, now destroyed, which once overlay a part of the foundations

<sup>62</sup> Kylon: Thucydides, I, 26; Aristion: Appian, *Bell. Mithr.*, 39; Plutarch, *Sulla*, XIV, 7.

<sup>63</sup> Below, p. 261.

<sup>64</sup> Herodotus, V, 65.

<sup>65</sup> Below, p. 261.

<sup>66</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 317 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Kavvadias-Kawerau, *Ἀνασκαφαὶ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως* (Athens, 1906), pp. 63 ff., pl. II.

<sup>68</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 324 f.; Kavvadias-Kawerau, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff., pl. I, V; Middleton, *Plans and Drawings of Athenian Buildings* (J.H.S., Suppl. III, London, 1900), pl. 1, 77; Stevens, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 518, fig. 66.

<sup>69</sup> Kavvadias-Kawerau, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f., pl. II; Middleton, *op. cit.*, pl. 4, IV.



of the Temple of Roma, and most familiar of all, the vaulted chamber beneath the Erechtheum, of which only the rock walls now remain.<sup>70</sup>

All of this only bears out what is indicated by the excavation: that until the second century of our era, there was no direct communication between the spring and the Acropolis. There is some evidence, as we shall see, to suggest that such a connection was thought of and was even planned; but it is certain that the plan was never carried through. From the days of Empedo, through 600 years of the life of Klepsydra, the spring was outside the Acropolis; it looked away from the citadel, faced on the Street of the Panathenaia, and could be reached only from that direction.

The Paved Court calls for little comment beside what has already been said, but a few points perhaps warrant special notice:<sup>71</sup>

Despite the badly damaged condition of the walls, we can yet be certain that the entrance to the Court was from the west, where a flight of steps led down from the street (Figs. 5-6, 29-30). The two lowest steps and part of a third are still *in situ*; they are high and steep; the risers are the full height of a wall course, about 0.325 m., and the treads are of approximately the same width. There was at least one more step: that is shown by the weather lines still visible on the surface of the single block of the third step; and we suggest that there were originally seven (Fig. 30).

The proposed restoration is supported by several considerations. Seven such steps would, in the first place, bring the entrance of the Court to the same level as that of Klepsydra, and this, as we have seen, was approximately the level of the ground here in antiquity (Figs. 32-35). Second, this level, about 2.25 m. above the floor, seems also to have been the original height of the east wall of the Court: the single small block which remains of the top-most course is neatly fitted, like the blocks below it, against the overhanging rock, which has been carefully smoothed to receive it (Fig. 8); above the single block the surface of the rock is quite rough, with no trace whatever of tooling—clearly there was no preparation for a higher course of the wall.<sup>72</sup> Finally, the restoration of seven steps at the entrance leaves just space to restore the west wall of the building with the same thickness as the north wall (Fig. 30); we shall see that there is some reason for supposing that the two were alike.

Of the entrance itself, above the level of the steps, and of the walls, we can say nothing. We have guessed that at this level the wall was crowned by a parapet with a coping similar to that which closed in the spring house. The only support for such

<sup>70</sup> Kavvadias-Kawerau, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 f., pl. III; 101 f. (text to pl. V); Paton, *Erechtheum*, pp. 169 f. and references there.

<sup>71</sup> The maximum over-all dimensions of the Court are *ca.* 24.25 from east to west, *ca.* 10.50 from north to south; inside measurements, *ca.* 18.0 m.  $\times$  *ca.* 9.0 m.

<sup>72</sup> Note that in the east wall the wall courses are approximately 0.45 m. high. Elsewhere in the Court they vary from *ca.* 0.323 to *ca.* 0.35 m. high. The difference caused trouble when it came to bonding the east and north walls, and the irregularity is still plain, Fig. 8.

a guess, aside from general probability, is a large coping stone which was found during the demolition of the wall of Valerian: it is triangular in section, very like that of Klepsydra in its proportions, but on a slightly larger scale, and of a harder material, the same as that used in the east wall of the Court and the orthostates of the spring house.

A conspicuous characteristic of the Court is the unfinished condition of parts of its walls. Many of the blocks of the south wall, for example, are still almost in quarry state (Figs. 5-6), so far as their exposed faces are concerned, with only deep draftings along the upper edges to show how much was ultimately to be worked off. Similar draftings on blocks of the north wall indicate that here, too, the final dressing has not yet been given. There is now no wall along most of the south side, but one was probably planned; a series of shallow beddings which can be traced from the east end of the preserved south wall along the south edge of the floor to the southeast corner were perhaps intended for a light wall which would have screened the lower part of the rock (Fig. 30). No trace of such a wall can be found where it must have abutted against the east wall, and it is practically certain that it was never built.

By far the most striking feature of the Paved Court is the thickness of the north, and if our restoration be correct, of the west wall (Figs. 5-6, 29-30). It is approximately two meters—too thick, obviously, for a wall of an ordinary building, and much too thick for the wall of a courtyard, even in its foundations. It suggests nothing so much as a fortification wall, as more than one scholar has seen,<sup>73</sup> and this may be the true explanation: it is possible that the heavy north and west walls of the Court are testimony to a scheme for enclosing the Court and Klepsydra within an outwork of the Acropolis wall which was planned but never completed.

We cannot, of course, be sure of the original scheme, but on the basis of what clues remain, we can make a plausible guess. It is evident that the east wall of the Court cannot have formed part of such a fortification; it is too narrow and too low. The real clue lies on the rock ledge above: about twenty meters to the east of the Court, close to the outer (north) edge of the ledge which runs eastward from the cave sanctuaries, there is a still conspicuous cutting (Fig. 36).<sup>74</sup> It slants across the rock for a distance of about 15.0 meters; at the west end it breaks off at the edge of the cliff; where it is best preserved, it is about 1.40 m. wide, and a maximum of about 0.50 m. deep with carefully smoothed floor and sides. It is not a quarryman's cutting. It can scarcely be anything but the bedding for a wall.

The restoration is surely obvious: a wall running from the jutting shoulder of the Acropolis just north of the postern gate, diagonally across the ledge and down

<sup>73</sup> E. g., Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1897, p. 479; idem, *Festschrift Walther Judeich* (Jena, 1929), p. 6; Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 116, note 3.

<sup>74</sup> Plainly indicated on Kavvadias' plan: 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1897, pl. 1, β'; whence we have taken it for our Fig. 36.



the face of the cliff to the northeast corner of the Court; such a wall would have included the postern and the rock steps leading to it. Similarly, from the southwest corner of the Court, we may suppose that a wall was to have climbed toward the south or southwest to meet the retaining walls before the entrance, somewhere west of the Propylaea. A careful examination of the slopes both east and west of the Paved Court has shown that this plan was, almost certainly, never perfected, that the massive north and west walls of the Court and the cutting in the ledge to the east of the cave of Pan, are not only all that remains of it, but, in all probability, all that ever existed.

The reason is not far to seek. We shall see that Klepsydra and the Paved Court were built during the second quarter\* of the fifth century, probably not later than about 460. They must have formed a part of the plans of Themistocles and Kimon for rebuilding the Acropolis, not of those of Pericles. The rebuilding of the walls was begun by Themistocles, there is no reason to doubt, but it took a long time; in the middle 40's there were still gaps through which a man could make his way unobserved, as we see from Kallikrates' contract to make the Acropolis safe from thieves and runaways.<sup>75</sup> In the meantime, ideas had changed; what had been planned and begun as a mighty citadel, while the memory of the Persians was still fresh, was being finished as the most

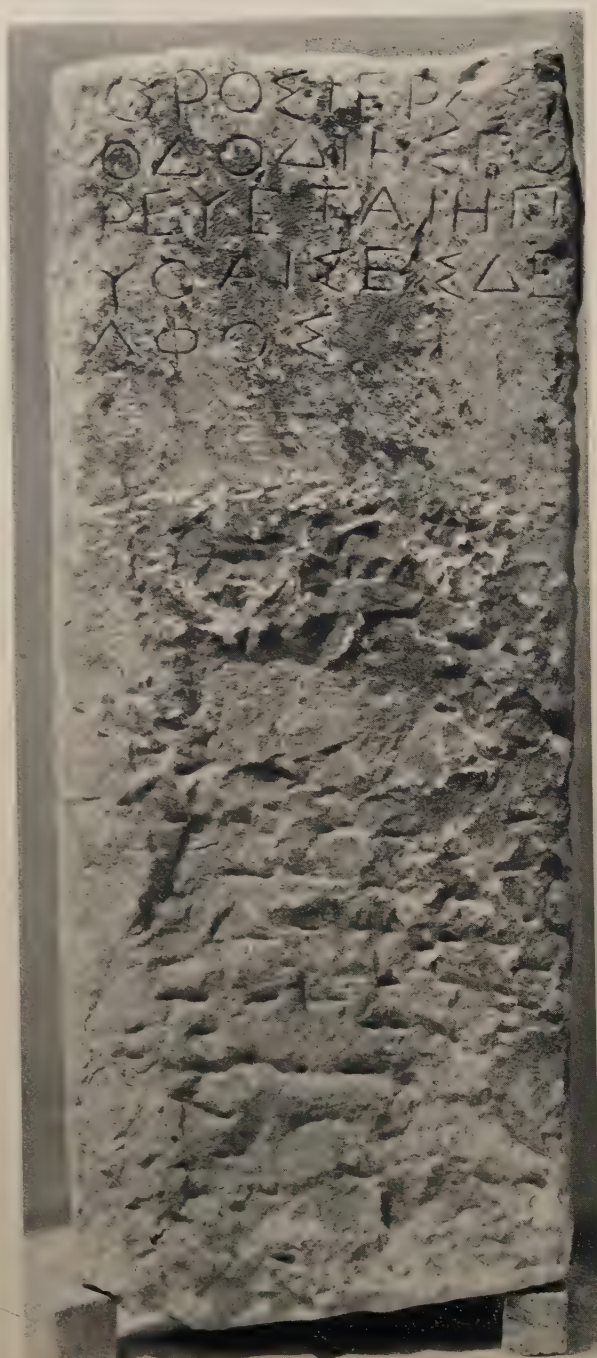


Figure 23

Horos of the Sacred Road, Inv. No. I 5476.

<sup>75</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 44 (*Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 62), *opus Callicratis*, ca. a. 445; asylum on the Acropolis for runaway slaves: *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 662.

magnificent of sanctuaries: the fortress was all but forgotten for the shrine. We may imagine that when Klepsydra and the Court were built, the finishing touches, the walls to link them to the Acropolis, were left to the last, until the walls above should be finished, at least until their final form should be decided upon. By that time, new and far reaching plans for the Acropolis were being put into effect, the northwest outwork was no longer necessary, was perhaps altogether forgotten; Klepsydra and the Paved Court stayed as they were, for all practical purposes complete and ready to use, but permanently outside the Acropolis.

## V. KLEPSYDRA AND PAVED COURT: DATE OF PERIOD I

We have repeatedly said that the buildings were constructed during the second quarter of the fifth century. Klepsydra belongs to a recognized class of fountain house, consisting essentially of a basin sunk in the ground. They are commonest, certainly, in the fifth century, but are not limited to it, and there are, moreover, no data for the working out of any typological development.<sup>76</sup> Fortunately, however, there is archaeological evidence and historical probability to support the proposed date and even to make it more precise.

A small quantity of potsherds gathered from behind the walls of the spring house and the Court provide us with a *terminus post quem*, ca. 475-470. The quantity is not large, for, as we have seen, the ground level at present in the immediate vicinity of the buildings is in most places lower than it was in antiquity, so that there remained but a few spots where contemporary filling was found undisturbed. In view of the inaccessibility of our records, we cannot discuss even this material in detail. Suffice it to say that the pottery is entirely homogeneous, and clearly related to that found in connection with the first period of the Tholos.<sup>77</sup> The sherd shown in Figure 24, the only figured piece in the lot, is altogether typical; the lack of incision and the degenerate workmanship show that it cannot have been made much, if at all, before 475.<sup>78</sup>

We have already referred (p. 207) to the group of wells on the slope below Klepsydra, the closing up of which we thought should have coincided with the building of Klepsydra. Analysis of their contents showed that their date, too, should be about 475, hardly later. The great bulk of the pottery belonged to earlier periods, the sixth,

<sup>76</sup> Dunkley, *B.S.A.*, XXXVI, 1935-36, pp. 180 ff., discusses fifth-century examples. The Hellenistic fountain in the Koan Asklepieion has been referred to above, note 55. Aristophanes' references to Klepsydra, *infra*, Appendix, Test. I and IX, give us a lower *terminus*, of course, in 411, the year of the production of the *Lysistrata*.

<sup>77</sup> Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940), p. 126.

<sup>78</sup> Inv. No. P 13,507. From the rim of a black-figured kylix, with the head and upper body of a figure which may be reclining. My parallels are in Greece; but I may say that Prof. H. R. W. Smith concurs in this dating.



and even the seventh, century; but in each well there was a scattering of later pieces, showing that the actual filling up must have taken place after the Persian wars.

The character of the masonry helps toward establishing a *terminus ante quem*. The plain tooling of exposed faces, the lack of ornamental drafting, to some extent the deep and strictly functional bevelling of the joints (Figs. 10, 14, 18), are characteristics which relate the buildings to structures of the period immediately after the war, and which seem definitely to militate against its being dated later than the middle of the century. The Tholos, in the Agora, comes to mind at once as a building securely dated in just this period; and a reference to the photographs and descriptions of the preserved blocks of the original wall of the Tholos will show that there is a very close resemblance in the treatment of both joints and surfaces.<sup>79</sup>

There is close kinship, too, with parts of the walls of the Acropolis; especially with such sections of the south wall as are certainly ancient.<sup>80</sup> The date of any given ancient part of the Acropolis wall, is, of course, not always determinable, but there is little doubt that all, or nearly all, of it is pre-Periclean.<sup>81</sup> The tradition that Kimon built the south wall is strong and plausible.<sup>82</sup> We cannot be sure of what was built before his time; but we should, I think, regard as the work of Themistocles those parts, at least, of the north wall in which are displayed the column drums and other architectural members of the older Parthenon: these were surely intended not merely as a permanent reminder of the destruction wrought by the barbarians,<sup>83</sup> but as a visible token or pledge of the intention of Athens to carry out the terms of the Greek oath not to rebuild the temples destroyed by the Persians.<sup>84</sup> Hence we must assume that they were set up very shortly after

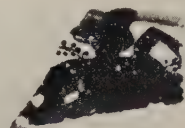


Figure 24

Black-figured Sherd, Inv. No. P 13507.

<sup>79</sup> Thompson, *The Tholos (Hesperia, Suppl. IV)*, p. 50 and figs. 35, 38, 44.

<sup>80</sup> No good photographs of this are published; for example, Picard's pl. 78 (*L'Acropole, le plateau supérieure*) is inadequate to show details; cf. Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture* (London, 1888), pl. 45, figure 2.

<sup>81</sup> No careful study of the walls of the Acropolis has yet been made. Such a study is badly needed: the various chronological schemes thus far proposed are based simply on what their authors consider historical probability. Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 210, and the references there given; add Wrede, *Attische Mauern* (Athens, 1933), pl. 32.

<sup>82</sup> Plutarch, *Cimon*, 13, 5; *Lucullus*, 44, 5; *Moralia*, 349 D; Nepos, *Cimon*, 2, 5; Pausanias, I, 28, 3.

<sup>83</sup> An "ewige Mahnzeichen des Nationalhasses gegen die Barbaren," Wachsmuth, *St. A.*, I, p. 521, quoting Beulé.

<sup>84</sup> On this oath, cf. Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 314 f. Himself accepting the authenticity of the oath, like Bates (*Harv. Stud.*, 1901, p. 319), he cites, opposed to it, Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 1, p. 358, note 3; Meyer, *Forschungen*, II, p. 97, note 1; Paton, *Erechtheum*,

the final victory. Whether the remainder of the north wall was also built by Themistocles, or even by Kimon, it would be hard to say; if by either, the deliberate ornamentation of the blocks with a band of drafting across the lower edges would be years ahead of its time.<sup>85</sup> In general, it is safe to assume, I think, that the construction of the wall was a gradual process; that the spoils of the Eurymedon reached the treasury in time to pay for some or all of the wall on the south side; and that the entire scheme may not have been completed much before the end of the century.

We have suggested that the peculiarities of the Paved Court are best explained by supposing that they are the result of a never-completed plan to include the spring and its surroundings within an outwork of the Acropolis wall: that the failure to carry the scheme through was a result of sweeping changes of plan for the whole of the Acropolis. The new plans can only have been those of Pericles; the death of Kimon, then, and Pericles' rise to power, should give us roughly the time when work on the buildings was stopped.

The sanctuary of Pan, which must have existed long before, was made the center, following the war, of a state cult, and we may suppose that the extensive cuttings for steps and walls which are still visible in the rock ledge before the cave date from this time;<sup>86</sup> a little later, around 450, the architect Koroibos was busy at the city Eleusinion, only a little lower on the slope.<sup>87</sup> But for our own buildings we have reached a date between about 475-470 at the latest on the one hand and about 460 on the other. This is the time of Kimon; let us remember that Kimon, beside building the south wall of the Acropolis, did much to beautify the city: Plutarch tells us of the shady walks, the plane trees planted in the Agora, the groves and fountains which adorned the Academy.<sup>88</sup> We may well believe, I think, that Klepsydra and the Paved Court were, in their original form, the work of Kimon.

p. 448, note 4; Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 72, note 2. The oath was condemned also by Theopompus (Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, B 1, p. 569, Frag. 153). Its text is found on a fourth-century stele from Acharnai (Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, pp. 307 ff.). The section on the temples burned by the Persians (Lycurgus, *Leokrates*, 81; Diodorus, XI, 29) does not occur in the epigraphic text. Robert (*op. cit.*, pp. 312 ff.) is among those who consider the oath apocryphal. Cf. further Dinsmoor in *Studies in the History of Culture* (published for the conference of secretaries of the American Council of Learned Societies, Menasha, 1942), p. 214; and on the authenticity of the Peace of Callias, likewise condemned by Theopompus, Wade-Gery in *Athenian Studies* (*Harv. Stud.*, Suppl. I), pp. 121-156.

<sup>85</sup> For the most recent discussion of this drafting, cf. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), p. 129, and p. 179, D6, 1.

<sup>86</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 301 f. The scholiast on Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.*, III, 44, 3 uses the verb *τεμενίζω* to describe the establishment of the cult; can we see in it any suggestion of the physical process of constructing the *temenos*?

<sup>87</sup> Kourouniotes, *Ἑλεσινιακά*, I (Athens, 1932), pp. 173 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Plutarch, *Cimon*, XIII, 8.



## VI. KLEPSYDRA AND PAVED COURT: IDENTIFICATION

## KLEPSYDRA AND THE SANCTUARY OF THE NYMPHS

The identification of Klepsydra has never been in doubt;<sup>89</sup> and it is not necessary to do more than reaffirm it here. There are no contradictions in the indications preserved for us in ancient literature: the "just below the Propylaia" of Pausanias, the "near the sanctuary of Pan," and "on the Acropolis," of the grammarians.<sup>90</sup> These clearly point to our spring.

The existence of a sanctuary of nymphs somewhere below or close to the cave of Pan has long been suspected.<sup>91</sup> So closely are Pan and the nymphs linked throughout the Greek world, that one can scarcely think of one without the other: the cult of the Goat-God would in itself be almost enough to prove that the nymphs, too, were worshipped here.<sup>92</sup> More conclusive still is the group of dedicatory reliefs which, from time to time, have been found close by, and in which Pan and the nymphs are associated.<sup>93</sup> New evidence has recently been found in the Agora excavations: the fragment of a boundary stone of a "nymphian sanctuary": *Νυνφαίο ηιερὸ λόπος*: it was found, like many another stone which originally stood on the north slope of the Acropolis, in the walls of a relatively modern house, west of the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>94</sup> The stone is dated by its editor in the first half of the fifth century; it is of special interest because it shows definitely that there was a sanctuary of the Nymphs distinct from that of Pan.

We have suggested that Empedo was nymph as well as spring, because spring and nymph are almost synonymous. This is scarcely less true of cave and nymph. Where the two are found together—as here on the slope, and as they are on Hymettus, and on Parnassus<sup>95</sup>—there the nymphs are most at home: the combination of spring and cave must have been irresistible to nymphs and worshippers alike. Need we look farther for the center of the nymph cult here? May we not suppose that it was Empedo-Klepsydra, close beneath the sanctuary of Pan? I think we may, and that here once stood the new horos-stone. The stone is of some interest, for it may well

<sup>89</sup> Dyer alone seems to have questioned it: *Ancient Athens* (London, 1873), pp. 442 ff.

<sup>90</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 191 ff.; and see the Testimonia, *infra*, Appendix.

<sup>91</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 302.

<sup>92</sup> Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, pp. 543 ff.; Farnell, *Cults*, V, pp. 425 ff.

<sup>93</sup> Judeich, *loc. cit.*; Heichelheim, *R.E.*, s. v. *Nymphai*, col. 1558, 55 ff.; the reliefs have been most recently discussed by Feubel, *Die attischen Nymphenreliefs* (diss. Heidelberg, 1935): no. 18 (Svoronos, *Athener Nationalmus.*, No. 1442, pl. 73 and p. 442), pp. 35 f.; no. C2 (Ny Carlsberg Glyptoth., *Billedtavler*, 27, 404), pp. 68 f.; no. C5 (Casson, *Cat. Acrop. Mus.*, II, No. 1345, pp. 248 ff.), p. 69 ff.

<sup>94</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 38, no. 3.

<sup>95</sup> Vari: Wheeler, *A.J.A.*, VII, 1903, pp. 263 ff.; Corycian cave: Pieske, *R.E.*, s. v. *Κορύκιον ἄντρον*; Pausanias, X, 32, 2 ff.

be a record of a boundary dispute between the nymphs and the Pythian God at the time the buildings were built; perhaps it was set up here to prevent encroachment on the property of the nymphs, just as a similar stone seems to have been erected to protect another fountain when, forty years later, Asklepios moved in on the south slope of the Acropolis.<sup>96</sup>

#### THE PAVED COURT OF THE PYTHION

The plans show clearly, what has been implicit in all our discussion so far, that although Klepsydra and the Court share a common wall, and were part of a single building scheme, they were thought of as wholly separate in function. The theory just proposed about the boundary stone would, if it be true, support what we are in any case obliged to assume: that the two were also separate in ownership. It becomes necessary then to account for this curious building beside the spring house.

Let us look back for a moment at some of its chief features: a large paved court, open to the sky, constructed with great care, and dating in all probability from the time of Kimon, it lies below the caves of Apollo, Zeus, and Pan, just at the point where the Street of the Panathenaia, climbing steeply from the Agora, meets the peripatos and swings westward to the Acropolis entrance.

There are several reasons against considering it a secular building: a shady lounging place for summer mornings, for example. First of all, though it is bounded by public streets on two sides, it has but one entrance; and this is on the side toward the processional way, in the most awkward position possible: not only are the angles of the building more difficult to deal with here than elsewhere, but the street level here, in antiquity, was higher above the floor of the Court than at any point along the north side of the building. Further, the steps which lead from the entrance down into the Court are so steep as to be distinctly inconvenient for any sort of ordinary use, and they show, in fact, relatively little wear. Finally, when the collapse of the rock roof made it impossible to reach the water of Klepsydra except from the north, and so the western end of the Court had to be thrown open to the public, the whole eastern half of the Court was still reserved, its privacy assured by the construction of the transverse wall.

We are led, therefore, to suppose that the purpose of the Court was a religious one. It is unlikely that the building itself is a sanctuary: its shape, the lack of any indication of altar or cult statue, perhaps the absence of votive deposits in the immediate neighborhood are all against it. We must imagine then that it was an appendage of some neighboring sanctuary. We have not far to look: immediately above

<sup>96</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 874, 875; Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, p. 30, fig. 7 (a good, recent photograph). It seems natural to regard the stone as recording the settlement of what may have been a rather difficult boundary question. This is perhaps the dispute referred to in the *fasti* of the Asklepieion, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4960 (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 88), 13 f.: [οἱ Κ]ήρυκες ἡμφεσβ[ήτον τὸ χ]ωρίο.



the Court, facing on the narrow rock ledge, are the three cave sanctuaries which we have so often mentioned: the Pythion, the Olympion, and the shrine of Pan. It requires little imagination to see that one of these might, if it continued to be an important shrine, feel the need of more space than its primitive position on the ledge provided. Of the Olympion, we know little, save its name and the fact that Thucydides refers to it in his account of pre-Thesean Athens;<sup>97</sup> of the second, the Paneion, we know that it became the center of a state cult only after the Persian war, and Pan's evident dissatisfaction with the summary treatment which he received from the Athenians makes it seem improbable that any such large and expensive structure as the Court was ever placed at his disposal.<sup>98</sup> But the third sanctuary, the Pythion, was one of the most important in Athens.

This is a fact which has been pointed out more than once in recent years;<sup>99</sup> yet, still, most people, when they think of the Pythion, think of that other Pythion, south of the Acropolis, beside the Ilissos.<sup>100</sup> This is natural enough, for it was by the Ilissos that Pausanias saw a statue of Pythian Apollo,<sup>101</sup> and it was there that Peisistratos dedicated an altar which has become doubly famous because Thucydides quoted the inscription and because the altar was itself actually found not many years ago.<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, the votive plaques which have been discovered at the cave sanctuary are, without exception, dedicated to Apollo ὑπ' Ἀκράϊς or Ὑπάκραϊος, "below the heights," or ὑπὸ Μακράϊς, "below the Long Rocks," not to Apollo Pythios.<sup>103</sup> This has conspired, together with the common misunderstanding of Thucydides' account of early Athens, to obscure the importance of the cave below the Propylaia. Yet the evidence is clear enough.<sup>104</sup> Once it is recognized that the controversial passage in

<sup>97</sup> Thucydides, II, 15; Strabo, 422. It was on the basis of the latter passage, which makes it clear that the Olympion must be close to the North Slope Pythion, that Keramopoulos first proposed to identify the huge cave between those of Apollo and Pan as the sanctuary of Zeus: Ἀρχ. Δελτ., XII, 1929, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>98</sup> Lucian, *Bis acc.*, 10.

<sup>99</sup> Wachsmuth's extraordinarily sound judgment led him to see, long ago, the desirability of identifying the cave with the Pythion (*Rh. Mus.*, XXIII, 1868, p. 56), but the difficulty of reconciling it with the evidence of Thucydides and others, and with that of the actual discoveries made south of the Acropolis, caused him to withdraw this first tentative identification. Kavvadias' excavations provided the occasion for a reconsideration of the question (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1897, pp. 22 ff.); and the case for the identification is stated most completely and vigorously by Miss Harrison, *Prim. Athens*, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>100</sup> See, e. g., Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 302; Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX/LXI, 1935/36, pp. 258 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Pausanias, I, 19, 1.

<sup>102</sup> Thucydides, VI, 54, 6; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 761.

<sup>103</sup> Kavvadias, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 f., 87 ff., pl. 4; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2891-2931; Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 252 f., nos. 54-57 (found during Agora Excavations).

<sup>104</sup> The important passages are: Euripides, *Ion*, 8 ff., 283 ff., 492 ff., 936 ff.; Pausanias, I, 28, 4; Strabo, 404; Philostratus, *Vit. soph.*, II, 5. The last describes the route of the Panathenaic ship: leaving the Kerameikos, it rounded the Eleusinion, coasted the Pelargikon, and finally, was drawn past (παρά) the Pythion and came to where it is now moored (*i. e.*, near the Areopagus, Pausanias, I, 29, 1). The topographical interest and value of the passage is enormously enhanced now that we know the actual course of the Panathenaic Street (see the plan, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pl. I).

Thucydides does actually refer to the north slope of the Acropolis, and not to the south or to the west, it is obvious that this, and not the sanctuary by the Ilissos, is the Pythion, *par excellence*, of Athens.

Because Apollo Pythios is also Apollo Patroös, and thus intimately connected with the political organisation of Athens, the sanctuary played an important role in the city's official life.<sup>105</sup> Euripides makes it quite clear that the cave was the place of the begetting and the birth of Ion, legendary ancestor of the Athenians.<sup>106</sup> It was to the cave, almost certainly, that the archons came when, after taking the oath of office on the stone in the Agora, they went "to the Acropolis" to take a second oath;<sup>107</sup> and it was here, of course, that, at a later time, they customarily dedicated the familiar small votive plaques.<sup>108</sup> We may remember, in this connection, that, at an early date, each archon vowed that if he violated his oath, he would dedicate a statue of gold, not at Athens, but at Delphi.<sup>109</sup>

No less important was the role of the sanctuary as the focus of Athenian Apollo worship, and of the city's relations with Delphi, symbolised by the Pythais.<sup>110</sup> The cave itself was thought of as the place in Athens where Apollo stopped on his way from Delos to Delphi: this is clear from Limenius' hymn to Apollo, composed on the occasion of the Pythais of 128/7 B.C.<sup>111</sup> The phrases ἐπὶ γαλ[όφῳ . . .] Τριτωνίδος and πετροκατοίκητος ἀχ[ώ . . .] plainly refer to the cave and not to the sanctuary by the Ilissos.

The Pythais commemorated Apollo's journey. At, or close to the cave, each year probably, watchers sat three days and three nights in each of three successive months waiting for the lightning to flash over the cliff of Harma near the southern end of the ridge of Parnes. The lightning, or some aspect of it, was the signal for the sending

<sup>105</sup> Demosthenes, *De cor.*, 141; Aristotle, 'Aθ. Πολ., LV, 15; Harpocration, *s. v.* 'Απόλλων Πατροῦς. On this and what follows see, beside Kavvadias and Miss Harrison, also Keramopoullos, 'Αρχ. Δελτ., XII, 1929, pp. 92 ff., and Boetticher, *Philologus*, XXII, 1865, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>106</sup> The passages are cited above, note 104.

<sup>107</sup> Aristotle, 'Aθ. Πολ., LV, 5.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. note 103, above.

<sup>109</sup> Plato, *Phaedrus*, 235 D; Aristotle, 'Aθ. Πολ., LVII, 4; Plutarch, *Solon*, 25.

<sup>110</sup> Our knowledge of the Pythais and its successor, the Dodekaïs, is based largely on the records inscribed on the walls of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi: Colin, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, fasc. 2, nos. 2 ff., pp. 59 ff. (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 696-9; 711; 728; 772 f.). The two festivals have formed the subject of several elaborate studies: Colin (beside *F. de D.*), *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes* (Paris, 1905 = *Bibl. des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, vol. 93); Boëthius, *die Pythais* (diss. Upsala, 1918); Daux, *Delphes au IIe et au Ier siècle* (Paris, 1936 = *Bibl. des Écoles franç.*, vol. 140), pp. 520-583, 708-729. Boëthius' is by far the most thoroughgoing and important; Daux's chapters are an excellent summary, with some contributions of his own. On Athenian-Delphian relations, in general, especially in early times, *Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson* (*H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. I, 1941), pp. 37 ff. (Daux).

<sup>111</sup> Colin, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 138 (Reinach); Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, 149 II. For the restoration of the poet's name, Colin, *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1913, p. 529. Lines 11 ff. describe Apollo's coming to Athens; note the marked echoes of Aeschylus, *Eum.*, 13 ff.



of the theoria.<sup>112</sup> This custom was apparently a very ancient one; how old, we cannot say, but the fact that the procession was preceded by men bearing double-axes is surely an indication of high antiquity: it may show, indeed, as Cook suggests, that the theoria had its origin at a time when Zeus, and not Apollo, was supreme at Delphi.<sup>113</sup> In any case, the phrase, "when it lightens over Harma," had become proverbial by the fifth century.<sup>114</sup> Except that it was seldom, we do not know how often the Pythais took place in classical times; in the second century B.C., when the procession became a regular one, a nine-year interval was settled upon.<sup>115</sup>

We have seen that the priests, apparently the pythaïsts themselves, watched for the lightning from the cave, that it was at the cave that Apollo stopped, that from it he started on his journey to Delphi. It is natural to suppose that the procession which commemorated his trip also started from this sanctuary,<sup>116</sup> though not from the cave itself. We do not know anything of the composition of the theoria in early times, but if we may judge from that of the second and first centuries B.C., it may have been fairly elaborate.<sup>117</sup> And the narrow ledge before the cave offers no facilities for the mustering and lining up of the units of a great religious procession. But immediately below the cave runs the Panathenaic street, and beside it lies the Paved Court. The Court, we have already concluded, must have been a sacred building, and one but little used. I should like to recognize in it a kind of pompeion, where certain of the pythaïstic gear might be kept, and where some parts of the procession would have been prepared, while the larger units formed in the street outside.<sup>118</sup>

Such buildings were perhaps not common in antiquity. In most cases some part of a temple area or the temple itself probably served as storage room and as a place for preparation of the actual procession: at Phigaleia, for example, *πομπαί*, *processions*, were prepared at the sanctuary of Artemis Soteira; and at Delphi, the Halos, the *threshing-floor*, was used for that purpose.<sup>119</sup> But pompeia did exist, and Athens

<sup>112</sup> Strabo, 404; probably from Apollodorus: cf. Schwartz, *R.E.*, s. v. Apollodorus, col. 2867, 47.

<sup>113</sup> Aeschylus, *Eum.*, 13, and schol.; Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 628, 815 f.; Weinreich, *Arch. für Rel.*, XXIII, 1925, p. 109.

<sup>114</sup> Boëthius, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff., especially pp. 10 f.

<sup>115</sup> Boëthius, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 f.

<sup>116</sup> Is there a possible further link between the Pythais and this part of the Acropolis in the facts that among the offerings carried to Delphi were *ἀπαρχαί*, that on this slope somewhere was the sanctuary of Demeter Chloe, where the people of Athens first grew grain (Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 285; Cook, *Zeus*, III, p. 178 note), and that also close by was the Bouzygion, where one of the three sacred ploughings took place (Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 286; Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1931, pp. 152 ff.)? Is there a reminiscence of this in Limenius' *πρωτόκαρπος Ἀθῆναις*?

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Ferguson's vivid reconstruction, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 372 f.

<sup>118</sup> Ample shelter was provided by the natural rock roof which protected a large area in the southeastern corner of the Court. No other cover was needed until the catastrophe of the first century after Christ (see below, pp. 243 ff.) caused the collapse of considerable masses of rock here, as well as elsewhere in the complex.

<sup>119</sup> Phigaleia: Pausanias, VIII, 39, 5; Delphi: Pomtow, *R.E.*, Suppl. IV, s. v. Delphoi, cols.

itself provides an admirable example, and an excellent parallel for our own: the pompeion at the Dipylon gate, whence the Panathenaic procession set out for the Acropolis. There, too, we have an open court, though in that case it is surrounded by a colonnade; and there, too, it is probable that only a part of the procession was prepared within the building.<sup>120</sup>

We know that the institution of the Pythaïs existed at least as early as the fifth century; we have scanty epigraphical and other references to it during the fourth; we know that it flourished for a half century or so at the end of the second and beginning of the first centuries; that it was succeeded in the Augustan period by a less imposing procession, the Dodekaïs; and finally that there is no record of either ceremony after the end of the first century after Christ.<sup>121</sup> We cannot point to any direct correlation between these facts and those of the history of the Paved Court; but there are no contradictions either. And we shall see that there is evidence at least to show that the Court was closely connected with the Pythion.

#### THE SACRED ROAD TO DELPHI

Ὅρος ἱερᾶς | ὁδὸ δι' ἧς πο|ρεύεται ἡ Π|υθαῖς ἐς Δε|λφός (Fig. 23), "Marker of the Sacred Road by which the Pythaïs proceeds to Delphi."

This is the reading of an inscribed stone, a roadsign, found in 1938 in the Agora Excavations.<sup>122</sup> The stone was discovered just west of the Stoa of Attalos, and close to the Panathenaic street, in a late Roman context; it had already, in antiquity, been reused as a door-sill, after removal from its original position.

1296 f., where the literature is cited. Something similar, perhaps, is to be recognised in the paved precinct uncovered by Hazzidakis at Tyllissos in Crete: *Les villas Minoennes de Tyllissos* (École Française d'Athènes, *Études Crétoises*, vol. III), p. 68 and pl. XIV.

<sup>120</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 361 f.; *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, pp. 169 ff., Beil. XXXIV; *ibid.*, LVI, 1931, pp. 1 ff., Beil. I.

<sup>121</sup> Of the other Pythaïs, the Delian, we know almost nothing: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336 with Kirchner's comment; Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1941, p. 111. Members of the Delphian Pythaïs occur often in Delian inscriptions: Roussel, *Délos colonie Athénienne*, pp. 64 f. Daux has recently suggested (*Delphes au IIe et au Ier siècle*, p. 527, note 4) that the text of Hesychius, *s. v.* ἀστραπή δι' ἄρματος: ἔπεμπον εἰς δύο θεοὺς λεγομένους Πυθαῖστας might well stand without emendation (Boëthius, *op. cit.*, p. 10 and his testimonium 6), because possibly the Athenians despatched a theoria also to Delos when they sent the Pythaïs to Delphi. This finds support in *P. Oxy.* 2086 (v. XX, 106 ff.): [. . . μεγα] | λαις τιμαῖς τον Απ[ολλωνα] | εἰς Δηλον δε θυσίαν ἀπέπ[εμψαν οποιαν] | δι Ἀρματος ἀστραπή κτλ., a reference for which I am indebted to Eugene Schweigert.

<sup>122</sup> Horos-stone of Hymettian marble, complete, found on May 27, 1938, in late Roman fill in Section Σ. The stone has been reused, face down, as a threshold, and the back is chipped and worn. A part of the face has been smoothed for the inscription; the remaining surfaces are rough-picked. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 212.

Height, 0.859 m.; width, 0.339 m.; thickness, 0.154 m.

Height of letters, 0.022-0.031 m.

Inv. I 5476.

Fourth century B.C.



We have noticed that the doorway of the Court opened not toward the north on to the peripatos, where an entrance would have been easy, but toward the west, on to the Street of the Panathenaia, where it was hard. The reason is obvious: the street was the route of the Pythais as well as of the Panathenaic procession. It was perhaps because the street was associated, in most people's minds, only with the more frequent and more famous festival, that the priests of Apollo found it desirable to set up—where the public might see it, and in permanent form—the claim of the Pythian God to a share in the processional way. We do not, of course, know just where it stood, but the occasion for its erection may very well have been the repair (?) of the Panathenaic street which is recorded in huge letters on the north face of the bastion west of the Propylaia.<sup>123</sup>

Between Athens and Thebes, there is only one point on the Pythaistic route which may be regarded as fixed. That is the Pythion at Daphne, for the story of the founding of the sanctuary by the descendants of Kephalos, at the bidding of Apollo, makes this practically certain.<sup>124</sup> We may be sure then that the Pythais followed the Street of the Panathenaia right across the Agora, and left the city by the Sacred Gate.

Beyond Daphne the route of the theoria is more doubtful. The legend of the killing of Androgeos should bring it past Oinoë on Cithaeron, as Boëthius shows;<sup>125</sup> and he assumes that it followed the ancient predecessor of the modern highway to Thebes by Eleusis and Eleutherae. Throughout the Turkish period, and until the advent of modern wheeled traffic, the ordinary road for horseman or pedestrian from Athens to Thebes was the path across Parnes by Phyle.<sup>126</sup> The Pythais was associated with just this region by the lightning flashes; and the road passes all but beneath the cliffs of Harma. I should like to think that beyond Daphne, at the Rheitoi, the procession left the Sacred Way toward Eleusis, and, swinging to the right across the Thriaëian plain and up the gorge toward Phyle, followed its own Sacred Road to Delphi.

## VII. TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Our records of the spring and the Court during the centuries following their construction are scanty. Aristophanes speaks of Klepsydra, perhaps twice, in the

<sup>123</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 222, fig. 18; p. 207.

<sup>124</sup> Pausanias, I, 37, 6 f.; Boëthius, *op. cit.*, p. 50. Interesting in this connection are the proveniences of the two votive plaques,—out of 35 the find-spots of which are recorded,—which have been found remote from the Acropolis: one at or near the Dipylon (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2897); the second at the monastery of Daphne (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2909). It will scarcely be coincidence that both those places are on the Pythaistic route.

<sup>125</sup> Boëthius, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff. quotes the relevant texts, and cites earlier literature.

<sup>126</sup> Skias, *Πρακτικά*, 1900, p. 43; Curtius u. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, VII, Text, pp. 10 f. This route may equally well pass by the region of Oinoë, which cannot be precisely located: cf. the discussions by Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, pp. 25, 34; Kahrstedt, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, p. 25; Chandler, *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, p. 8.

*Lysistrata*, produced in 411. We know that some work seems to have been done on the Panathenaic street during the fourth century, and recorded in the inscription still visible on the face of the Acropolis wall above the buildings; and we have suggested that the priests of Apollo may have taken this occasion to set up the marker of the road to Delphi; but no reflection of this is found in the buildings themselves. At some time during this or the following centuries, we cannot be precise, the wooden railing around the drawbasin rotted or was removed, and for a while there was no parapet of any sort: the margin of the drawbasin is worn by ropes and pitchers in a way that could not have occurred while any sort of guard rail was in place (Fig. 18).

Sulla's troops, besieging the Acropolis under the command of Curio,<sup>127</sup> do not seem to have damaged the buildings, nor did either suffer, apparently, from Aristion's "scorched earth" policy,<sup>128</sup> although as we shall see, some record of the battle was left about the spring. Shortly afterward, however, an accident occurred which permanently affected the spring house, and was a presage of worse to follow. This was the shifting of at least one of the huge masses of rock which formed the roof of the cave. We cannot be sure of the extent of this shift; we know, however, that the northern mass of the roof settled vertically approximately half a meter, and crushed the northeast corner of the basin. The patchwork masonry of the repair, which closed the northern inlet, is plainly visible in the photographs and drawings (Figs. 12, 33-34). The whole of the southern wing of the spring house was evidently also damaged, perhaps badly damaged, for the rebuilding which followed apparently involved the closing off of this entire section of the building. The entrance, however, and the stairway to reach the northwest corner of the basin could still be used. Here, from now on, the water was drawn with the aid of a marble well-beam (Fig. 17) set in against the sagging roof. Upon the western margin of the drawbasin, where the railing had been, were set the three large marble slabs which are still among the most conspicuous features of the entire complex (Figs. 9, 17, 18); and behind them, this whole wing of the spring house was filled with debris almost to the level of the setbacks of the west wall. The arrangement is rather puzzling, yet it is evident that it marks the permanent disuse of this part of the building: the new filling shows no signs of having been tramped upon, neither does the edge of the new parapet show any trace of wear by ropes and pitchers.

The blocks of the new parapet—perhaps we should call it rather a retaining wall, for that was actually its function—were secondhand. All three were originally bases

<sup>127</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla*, XIV, 7; Appian, *Bell. Mithr.*, 38 f.

<sup>128</sup> Appian, *loc. cit.*; Pausanias, I, 20, 4 (who attributes the destruction of the Odeion to Sulla). Aristion doubtless recalled that Sulla had turned the trees of the Academy into effective siege-machines (Appian, *Bell. Mithr.*, 30).



which held statues or, in the case of the central slab, stelai (Figs. 9, 18, 35); all are of Pentelic marble of good quality. All three appear to be early; and the southernmost still bears traces of a dedicatory inscription, which can scarcely be dated later than the end of the sixth century.<sup>129</sup>

The blocks are set in a very shallow bedding prepared for them in the top of the west wall of the drawbasin. For added security, and to close the rather wide gaps between them, the joints on the side toward the west have been pointed with soft mortar.

The well-beam,<sup>130</sup> also of Pentelic marble, is of a type familiar in the domestic architecture of the Hellenistic and later periods.<sup>131</sup> It is a marble slab decorated with a simple Ionic moulding at the sides, and with a central slot in which revolved the pulley over which the rope passed (Figs. 13, 17).

For the date of all this, almost the only clue is the filling from behind the marble parapet; fortunately it can be dated with fair accuracy. The filling was an interesting one. It was markedly homogeneous, evidently deposited at one time, and contained chiefly a quantity of broken roof tile and fragments of hundreds of plain storage amphoras; of finer wares there was scarcely a handful. But there was a scattering of rather unexpected objects: a number of large pieces of hard water-proof cement of excellent quality,<sup>132</sup> evidently from the lining of a cistern or conduit, a number of leaden sling-bullets, two iron arrowheads, and several coins.

The clue to the origin of the filling is the mass of plain amphoras: *συντρίβεται . . . τὰ κεράμια παρὰ ταῖς κρήναις*.<sup>133</sup> it can be nothing but the debris removed in a

<sup>129</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 225, and fig. 20. This is the slab which appears in Fig. 9.

<sup>130</sup> The well-beam and its supports form the "blinde Tür" to which Judeich refers (*Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 192), relying on the accounts of Pittakis, Breton, and Burnouf (cf. references cited above, note 5). Pittakis believed that he could read ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟ[ on the beam; Breton and Burnouf, prepared in advance by Pittakis, also thought they saw it, and a pediment above it. The block was, actually, never inscribed. Pittakis, dangling at the end of a rope above the black water with only the uncertain flame of a candle for light, may be excused if he took for letters the fine ribs and ridges of lime deposit (from dripping water) which covered the face of the stone. There is less excuse for his successors; but it may be said in extenuation that some of the "lines" were remarkably suggestive, and it was not until after several hours of careful cleaning of the stone with the help of a ladder and a powerful light that the American excavators were satisfied that the inscription had never existed. It is presumably this inscription which is published by Dittenberger as *I.G.*, III, 3833, from LeBas (*Attique*, no. 677), who must have taken it from Pittakis.

<sup>131</sup> The device is, of course, much older: an excellent example, evidently in wood, is shown on a red-figured column krater in Madrid: a youth stands on a well-curb, drawing water with the aid of the *τροχίλεια*, while several soldiers wait to drink, Leroux, *Vases Gr.*, no. 197 (Beazley, *Att. V.*, p. 478: painter of Naples centauiromachy, 13 bis). Several such beams have been found at Delos: Chamonard, *Explor. archéologique de Délos*, VIII, pp. 346 ff., especially p. 349; a good example, p. 348, fig. 213, and pl. LXIII, where details are shown.

<sup>132</sup> This is not to be regarded as indicating that the drawbasin of Klepsydra was ever water-proofed, for it clearly was not. The cement very likely came from the Acropolis; how and why it would be difficult to say.

<sup>133</sup> Schol. Aristophanes, *Lys.*, 329.

cleaning out of the drawbasin itself. The process of breaking water-jars and losing small objects in the basin must have been a continuous one; hence the latest objects from the filling should be a close indication of the time when the basin was cleaned and the filling made. The coins, the fragments of a Megarian bowl, the stamps on some of the amphoras, all point to a date at least as late as Sulla's capture of the city. Of the seven coins found, the latest are three of the Athenian New Style of the type ordinarily dated in 88 B.C. The fragments of the bowl (Fig. 25), small as they are, are yet sufficient to show that the bowl is one of the latest of its kind, and should be dated as late, perhaps, as the second quarter of the first century.<sup>134</sup>



Figure 25

Fragments of a Megarian bowl,  
Inv. No. P 13390.

Fifty-three stamped handles were found among the fragments of the storage amphoras; most of them are of Knidian manufacture, a compact group dating, again, from the early part of the first century: "the 47 Knidian handles from the Klepsydra date from 22 or more different years, probably successive or nearly so. Connections of names begin this period shortly after that of Thompson's Hellenistic Group *E*, '100 B.C. or a little later.' The three Rhodian handles, and the two of unknown origin, fit, I think, a date in the early first century

B.C. The Thasian is the only leftover from earlier times, and none of the handles, according to present information, suggests a date of manufacture later than about the first third of the century."<sup>135</sup>

All these point to a time after, rather than before, the capture of Athens by Sulla. And this is corroborated by the sling-bullets<sup>136</sup> and arrowheads,<sup>137</sup> for they, surely, are mementoes of the siege itself. Whether they were fired by besiegers or besieged, we cannot tell,—none of the missiles is inscribed with a name,—but that they came here at the time of the battle we can hardly doubt.

<sup>134</sup> Inv. No. P 13,390. Three fragments which all but complete the profile of a Megarian bowl. The lip is plain, the decoration of the wall is confined to elongated petals. On the date of such bowls, see Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 458, 394 (Group *E*: from houses sacked by Sulla's troops); idem, *The Tholos* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. IV), pp. 120 f., fig. 90, *d* (mold for such a bowl from post-Sullan fill).

<sup>135</sup> I owe this note to my friend and colleague, Miss Virginia Grace.

<sup>136</sup> Inv. Nos. IL 657, 673-682, 685: three (IL 673, 678, 685) are inscribed ΔΕΞΑΙ, others are ornamented with thunderbolts or wings. For the most recent discussion of sling-bullets, with references, cf. Robinson, *Olynthus*, X, *Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds*, pp. 418 ff.

<sup>137</sup> Inv. No. IL 683, 684. On ancient arrowheads, cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 114 ff.; Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 378 ff. Ours resemble his bronze type D 1 (pp. 387 ff., nos. 1940-71), but are, of course, much later.



## VIII. TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FIRST CENTURY AFTER CHRIST

For a century or more after the repair of the drawbasin, there seems to have been no change in either Klepsydra or the Paved Court; and they are almost without history.



Figure 26

Sling-bullets and arrowheads. Top row, from left: IL 678 ( $\Delta\Theta\Xi\Lambda\text{I}$ , thunderbolt), 685, 657, 673 (same), 679 (thunderbolts). Middle row: IL 674 (wings), 682 (same), 675, 680, 681 (all uncertain). Bottom row: IL 684, 683 (both undecorated), 676, 677.

We know, only, that when Mark Antony set out for Parthia and the siege of Samosata, in 38 B.C., he took with him a spray of the sacred olive tree, and, in obedience to an oracle, a bottle of water from Klepsydra.<sup>138</sup> It is an interesting combination of tokens, if tokens they were, but we hear nothing more of them; we do

<sup>138</sup> Appendix, Test. II; *C.A.H.*, X, pp. 52 ff. (Tarn).

not know whether Antony's was a special case, or whether he was conforming to a custom;<sup>139</sup> and I know of no other indication that Klepsydra's water was considered to possess special qualities.

But about the middle of the first century of our era, both the spring house and the Court suffered damage which permanently changed their aspect (Fig. 37). A century earlier, the shifting of a part of the rock had necessitated the repairs which we have just discussed. The collapse which now occurred was much more extensive: large masses of limestone broke away from the roof and blocked the whole of the west side of the spring house (Figs. 4, 33), including the entrance; others crushed or damaged the common wall between the spring house and the Court so severely that the upper courses had to be removed if they were not actually knocked off; a mighty boulder settled over the south edge of the Court just east of the spring house (Figs. 5-7, 29), another fell into the southeast corner (Fig. 8), and a still larger one, torn loose from somewhere high up on the cliff, crashed through the floor of the Court, smashing the paving, and settled into the soft fill of one of the Mycenaean pits.

We have no way of telling now whether this collapse was caused by an earthquake or simply by the normal process of erosion and weathering. Both forces were, and are, constant menaces to the countless caves and cave sanctuaries of Greece. At the shrine of the Black Demeter, Pausanias was shown the marks in the roof of the cave where a mass of rock had broken away years before and crushed the cult statue.<sup>140</sup> In Athens, within the last ten years, a limestone boulder approximately six feet in diameter broke away from the cliff on the north face of the Acropolis, and hurtled down the slope to come to rest against a house on Acropolis Street. Serious earthquakes are, of course, unknown in Athens, but slight shocks are frequent, and may do considerable damage; the earthquake of 1894 did sufficient harm to the Parthenon so that the attention of archaeologists was drawn to the need of repairing and restoring it.

The situation created in the spring house by this collapse was evidently regarded as irreparable. The water was still accessible, the well-beam still in place, and the stairs open; but they could now be reached only by coming into the west end of the Court and climbing over the remains of the wall between the two buildings.

The consequences of this to the Court of the Pythion must have been a matter of grave concern to the priests, for if the public was to use the spring, it must be allowed to pass through the Court. The transverse wall was the solution to the problem: the west end of the Court was apparently simply turned over to the public, or more likely to the authorities in charge of the city water supply, and only the east

<sup>139</sup> The reference to the oracle would suggest not.

<sup>140</sup> Pausanias, VIII, 42, 1, at Mt. Elaion near Phigaleia.



end was reserved for the god. It was probably the city authorities who undertook the repair of the western part of the Court, and who disposed of the fallen boulder by the simple expedient of sinking it beneath the ground level and repairing the paving above it. It must have been they, too, who now replaced the old overflow channel with a new one. The new channel starts beneath the very center of the Court, swings to the west around the sunken boulder, and then runs north and northwest toward the Agora (Fig. 29, *B*).

Only the east half of the Court now remained to Apollo, but his privacy was assured by the construction of the transverse wall dividing the building from north to south (Fig. 30); the foundations of this wall—an irregular packing of reused material—form a conspicuous gash across the paving (Figs. 5, 6, 8, 29), which is elsewhere so well preserved. There is little to be said about the appearance of the wall, and there is no trace of a doorway; at the south end, the face of the rock has been roughly dressed where the wall abutted against it; the dressings indicate a wall approximately 1.75 m. thick, a figure confirmed by the blocks remaining at the north end, where the wall was bonded with the wall of the Court (Figs. 6, 29).<sup>141</sup> The dressing of the cliff face reaches to a height of almost seven meters above the floor; and from the highest point a deep groove runs horizontally toward the east, which can have had but one purpose: to hold the beam ends of a lean-to roof. The rectangular socket, then, which is almost exactly in the center of this new, reduced “pompeion,” (Figs. 29-30) may well have held a central post, although the size of the room, about 8 meters square, would hardly have made it necessary.

A date about the middle of the first century after Christ is suggested for this extensive rebuilding of the Court, by the pottery associated with it; and there is reason to believe that the work was done actually during the reign of the Emperor Claudius.

A considerable quantity of very fragmentary pottery was found in the old overflow channel, which was filled up at this time, and in the pit beneath the floor into which the boulder was lowered. Closely datable pieces are lacking; two of the most characteristic are shown in Figure 27.<sup>142</sup> The closest parallels for the bowl are found among the contents of a well, excavated in 1936 in the Agora, which dates from the first half of the first century: it contained, for example, fragments of terracotta lamps

<sup>141</sup> Note the unusual thickness of even this wall. The bond with the north wall may indicate that a part of that wall, too, was damaged and had to be repaired. The pottery associated with the transverse wall precludes our considering it earlier than this period. Note that the thickness of the wall is wrongly restored in Fig. 30 (shown with broken line); the east face should be *ca.* 0.50 m. farther toward the east.

<sup>142</sup> The bowl: Inv. No. P 13,389, mended from many pieces, considerably restored, but profile complete. The pitcher: Inv. No. P 10,639. The lip restored in plaster, otherwise complete. Coarse clay, with many impurities, unglazed.

of Broneer's Type XVIII, but none of his Type XX, examples of which seem not to appear in Athens until after the middle of the century. We have no single vase which forms an exact parallel for the pitcher, but it is clear that it belongs to the same period: the high shoulder, sharply set off from the neck, the broad low base, the general effect of compactness and neatness, despite the rough finish, are thoroughly characteristic of the first half of the first century after Christ. We should date the repair, on the basis of this evidence, not much later than the middle of that century.



Figure 27

Unglazed pitcher and black-glazed bowl, Inv. Nos. P 10639 and P 13389.

There are other indications that the vicinity of the Court was a center of activity, precisely at this time—during the reign of Claudius. It is certain that the building of an *anabasis*, an “ascent,” which is mentioned in a record of the *pyloroi* of the Acropolis, must have taken place in Claudius’ reign.<sup>143</sup> The “ascent” has been, quite naturally, taken to mean the broad marble stairway which led up to the Propylaia from a predecessor of the Beulé Gate.<sup>144</sup> But as a result of discoveries made during the Agora Excavations, it is now fairly certain that the repair or rebuilding of the Street of the Panathenaia, which can be traced from a point in the neighborhood of the Eleusinion to somewhere below the Beulé Gate, must date about this time; and there is every reason to believe that this was the *anabasis* of the inscription.<sup>145</sup> It is this part of the approach to the Acropolis which is so clearly, and on the whole, so accurately shown on a series of Athenian coins of the Imperial period: coins which were struck to commemorate the building of the *anabasis*—note how carefully the coin reproduces the bend in the street where it reaches the Paved Court just below the caves.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>143</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2292, lines 49 ff.: ἐφ’ ὧν καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἐγένετο.

<sup>144</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 215.

<sup>145</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 334.

<sup>146</sup> The best and clearest reproductions are published by Pick, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI, 1931, pp. 65 ff., fig. 2, *Beil.* 28, 1-4; in general, on the coins and their date, cf. J. P. Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 316 ff., pl. VI.



More important still, for us, is evidence of a new custom in connection with the Pythion, contemporary with the repair of the Court. The earliest of the long series of votive plaques, dedicated by the archons, belongs to the years 40/1-53/4.<sup>147</sup> It might be coincidence that the series begins just at this time; but we shall see that the end of the series, likewise, seems to come just as the Court is abandoned. This is hardly chance; it seems to imply a real relationship; and suggests that as the original function of the Court became less important, it had acquired others, more closely linked with the official life and the regular observances of the sanctuary.

## IX. TO THE EARLY THIRD CENTURY AFTER CHRIST

For over a century we are without records of Klepsydra or the Court of the Pythion. The spring house was evidently steadily used, for the wear on the blocks of the wall toward the Court is very marked. About the status of the Court, we cannot be sure: the last recorded theoria to Delphi took place sometime between 86 and 96 after Christ;<sup>148</sup> whether it was actually the last Dodekaïs we do not, of course, know. In any case, there is reason to believe that the Court continued to fulfill *some* function in connection with the Pythion; and we shall see that it seems to have done so until the early years of the third century.

The last important ancient rebuilding took place before the end of the second century after Christ, with the construction of the existing well house and the stairway which linked it with the Acropolis (Fig. 38). But it is clear, I think, that this rebuilding had not yet taken place when Pausanias visited Athens about A.D. 160. He saw the spring as he went from the Acropolis to the Areopagus: "on the way down, not into the town, but just below the Propylaia." This does not sound like a reference to a subterranean stairway and a spring concealed beneath massive masonry, which could be reached only from within the fortifications of the Acropolis. On the other hand, it is safe to conclude from his remarks about the cave sanctuaries, despite the lacuna, that he did not actually visit this part of the slope.<sup>149</sup> In all probability, he had them pointed out to him as he looked back from the Areopagus.

It was after his visit, then, though, as we shall see, perhaps not very long after, that the change to which we have referred took place. The new scheme finally accomplished what we have suggested was the original purpose of Kimon's architects, but which neither they nor any successor had yet achieved: to make the water directly accessible to the garrison of the Acropolis, by incorporating it, in effect, within the fortification of the citadel.

<sup>147</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2891 (40/1-53/4).

<sup>148</sup> Colin, *Culte d'Apollon Pythien*, no. 63, p. 154; *F. de D.*, III, fasc. 2, p. 66.

<sup>149</sup> Absence of physical details, and emphasis on myth and legend usually characterise the descriptions of sanctuaries or buildings which Pausanias did not actually visit.

The new structure disregarded everything of the old, save only the drawbasin itself (Fig. 31). A vaulted well house was made, partly cut from the rock, partly built of very solid masonry, high above the basin among the fallen and sagging masses of limestone which had formed the roof of the original cave (Figs. 19-20, 32-34). A circular shaft was driven through the floor of the well house so that buckets could be lowered to the water, about five meters below. The well house, had, of course, to be so placed that the water could be reached from it, but otherwise its shape and orientation were largely determined by the utilization of an existing cleft as a means of connection with the Acropolis. The cleft curves upward from the southwest corner of the well house, and enters the Acropolis beneath the northeast corner of the ancient bastion below the Propylaia (Figs. 2, 31). It was widened and deepened where necessary, and an opening was forced beneath the foundations of the bastion. The steps were cut in the rock where possible, elsewhere were built of such materials as were at hand. The vault which covered the well house and stairway is a typical structure of its period in Greece. Its character is clear from the photographs: the walls outside are built of courses of stone, alternating with courses of brick, both set in an extremely hard mortar (Figs. 2, 4, 5); the whole of the inside, except where the walls are actually of rock, is faced with brick (Figs. 19-20). The stairway was originally also covered with a vault (Fig. 32); it was removed by Burnouf on the supposition that it was mediaeval;<sup>150</sup> but the short section which remains in the actual entrance to the well house is probably entirely typical. The very flat arch is noteworthy (Fig. 32); probably it carried no great weight: a fairly thin layer of earth would have been sufficient to protect it. The well-curb (Figs. 19-20), which was still in use up to the time when our excavation was begun, is probably the original one: it is of Pentelic marble, and, except that it tapers rather more markedly, it can be matched in practically every detail by curbs found in the Hellenistic houses of Delos.<sup>151</sup>

The old spring house was now completely sealed beneath the foundations of the new structure. Boulders and blocks were shifted to form parts of these foundations (Figs. 5-6) and where the builders felt at all uncertain of their underpinnings, they poured in great quantities of very hard concrete to fill up the larger spaces. Before the concrete was poured a mass of filling was thrown in over the north and west wings of the old spring house; most of it was debris taken from the drawbasin itself, some of it may have been brought from elsewhere. The aim, of course, was to make the spring totally inaccessible from outside. So carefully and consistently was this done, that we may be sure that even the narrow crevice (Fig. 4) through which we made our way into the southwest corner of the spring house must have been solidly closed.

It was from the filling of debris which had been thrown into this crevice, that

<sup>150</sup> Burnouf, *La Ville et l'Acropole*, p. 165.

<sup>151</sup> Chamonard, *Délos*, VIII, pp. 346 ff. Like ours in lack of ornamental mouldings and rough-picking of the surface, differing from it in proportions: pl. 50 D; pl. 51 B; pl. 51 C.



most of our direct evidence for the date of the new well house comes. The bulk of the material was fragments of plain water jars, but there was one piece which provides us with at least a clue to the date. The jug shown in Figure 28<sup>152</sup> is exactly duplicated, in fabric, glaze and shape, by vases found in a well in the Agora which was closed up, on the evidence of coins, about the end of the second century after Christ. Corroborative evidence comes from the debris over the north wall of the spring house: a coin of Faustina the Younger, who died in 176.

The change in the spring house, the shutting off of the water, or the events which caused it, seem to have had serious consequences for the Pythion and its Court. Early in the third century the archons apparently gave up the custom of dedicating their small tablets in the cave-sanctuary.<sup>153</sup> At the same time, the Court appears to have been abandoned, for debris began to accumulate over the floor, including, it is interesting to note, broken fragments of a number of the votive plaques, evidently thrown over from above.<sup>154</sup>

A period of neglect of the whole neighborhood may, in fact, have set in: exploration has shown that, for a number of years, a winter torrent ran uncontrolled down the hillside, just east of the Court, from just below the caves: it gouged out a gully, meters wide and meters deep, for a long distance down the slope. The neglect was not permanent so far as the sanctuary was concerned, and we shall hear again of Klepsydra and its water. But the Paved Court was, from now on, forgotten.



Figure 28

Jug with grooved decoration,  
Inv. No. P 12809.

## X. KLEPSYDRA: TO THE END OF ANTIQUITY

The change which the construction of the well house brought to Klepsydra and its neighborhood cannot be too strongly emphasized. From now on, the spring was accessible from the Acropolis, and only from the Acropolis; the Paved Court wholly disappeared (Fig. 39). The wall of Valerian was built toward the end of the third

<sup>152</sup> Inv. No. P 12,809. Mended from many pieces; the handle and much of the body restored in plaster. The decoration of deep swirling grooves we cannot match in this period from the Agora collection, but we have examples of both its earlier and its later phases; the present example slips easily into place in the series.

<sup>153</sup> The latest plaques seem to belong to this time, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2929-30.

<sup>154</sup> Kavvadias notes (*loc. cit.*, p. 87) that a number of the fragments were found actually on the floor, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐδάφους. He left only small pockets of fill over the paving; but the very fragmentary pottery found in this earth was consistently of the late second and early third centuries.

century (Figs. 2-4),<sup>155</sup> crossing the ruined Court, and shutting in the well house more effectively than ever. Some indication of how completely the older buildings had been abandoned by this time is the fact that almost a meter of dirt and rubbish had already accumulated over the floor of the Court.<sup>156</sup>

But though the spring house was closed up, and Klepsydra hidden, the water still overflowed, and still ran off, apparently, through the old channel. Three hundred years or more after the building of the well house, there is evidence of new interest in the overflow. Early in the sixth century after Christ, a huge cistern was constructed not far below the spring (Figs. 22, 39). It lies only about 25 meters down the slope, inside the wall of Valerian; its west side was built actually against that wall. The old overflow channel of Klepsydra was blocked and the water diverted through a new set of terracotta pipes into the new reservoir.

The cistern, though much damaged, is still recognizable as a typical product of its period. The massive concrete walls are faced on the inside with brick, the floor is covered with heavy Roman tiles (the smaller tiles which are visible in the photograph in the northeast corner belong evidently to a repair); two stout columns helped support the roof; the coating of water-proof cement which covered the walls is still hard and smooth. The construction is in every way similar to that of the great vaulted cistern in the precinct of Asklepios on the south slope of the Acropolis; it resembles still more closely that of the cistern in the northeast wing of the Propylaia.<sup>157</sup>

I do not know of any published evidence for the date of these two reservoirs; but a possible clue to that in the Asklepieion may be found in the history of that sanctuary. The distinguished philosopher Proklos lived close to, and could visit, the Asklepieion while it was yet undamaged and still the scene of cult observances; but by the end of the fifth century, Marinos, writing his biography of Proklos, speaks of the sanctuary, wistfully, in the past tense.<sup>158</sup> It is likely that the construction of the cistern came *after* the abandonment of the sanctuary, and in that case it cannot be dated much earlier than the early sixth century.

This is the date indicated also for the reservoir below Klepsydra by the pottery associated with it. The channel which carried the water to the new cistern consists, conventionally enough, of a rectangular pipe covered by the customary elliptical tiles. Fragments of several terracotta lamps, and a fair quantity of broken pottery, were recovered from the fill of the trench in which the channel was laid. Both lamps and

<sup>155</sup> For the date see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 332.

<sup>156</sup> This is shown by the height above the floor of the "euthynteria," of the wall of Valerian here. It is plainly visible in Fig. 3.

<sup>157</sup> Best shown by Middleton, *Plans and Drawings*, pl. 4, IV, E and F.

<sup>158</sup> Marinos, *Vit. Procl.*, 29. Proklos died A.D. 485; Marinos' biography must have followed shortly thereafter. Cf. a cistern on Acrocorinth, Carpenter and Bon, *Defenses of Acrocorinth* (= *Corinth*, III, ii), p. 257.



vases are of types and fabrics which are characteristic of the late fifth and the sixth centuries after Christ.

This new manifestation of interest in the water supply may very well date from the time of the Emperor Justinian. It is well known that he was concerned about the fortifications of the chief cities of Greece, and there is good reason to believe that, in Athens, he was responsible for extensive repairs to the wall of Valerian.<sup>159</sup> The cisterns fall within that circuit, and must be approximately contemporary with the repair. It is surely reasonable to suppose that they formed part of the same program.

## XI. KLEPSYDRA: IN MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN TIMES

### BYZANTINE ACTIVITY

#### AND

### THE CHAPEL OF THE HOLY APOSTLES

For many centuries after Justinian, the history not merely of Klepsydra but of Athens itself is dark. We have now no way of knowing whether, during these years, the water of Klepsydra continued to flow into the cistern, or whether that was blocked and dry, and the water found its way in hidden streamlets down the slope. But toward the end of the dark ages, in the tenth and eleventh centuries—we cannot be more precise—there is evidence that the ancient source was sought for and found. Debris containing coarse potsherds of this period was found behind the walls of the drawbasin, where it had eluded subsequent cleanings of the tank. More fragments of pottery were found deep in a cleft beneath the floor of the well house at its eastern end. There is but one possible explanation of their presence here: that the people of the time, having a knowledge somehow of the source, but having lost access to it, were digging in every crack and cranny to find one which should lead them to the water. The sherds behind the walls of the drawbasin itself are evidence that their search was successful. Breton found the walls of the “chapel” covered with frescoes; he thought them very ancient: “remontant au moins au X<sup>e</sup> siècle.”<sup>160</sup> There is unhappily no way in which we can control his suggestion; there is practically no trace of the frescoes on the walls of the well house, and Breton’s drawing (Fig. 21) which

<sup>159</sup> Procopius, *De aedif.*, IV, 2, 24 (p. 272, Bonn). Curtius long ago proposed to attribute the Valerian wall to Justinian, but the idea was not generally accepted. It was revived by Soteriou, *Τὸ Ἰουστινιάνειον τείχος τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ἐν 75τηρίδι Ῥιζαρείου Σχολῆς* (Athens, 1920), pp. 434 ff., and *Εἰρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, vol. A', 1, *τεύχος α'* (Athens, 1927), pp. 27 ff. The Agora Excavations have produced evidence of extensive repairs to the wall of Valerian in the sixth century after Christ. The older circuit may also have been put in order at this time, Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 200. For Justinian’s attention to water supply: Procopius, *De aedif.*, II, 2, 1 (p. 214, Bonn); II, 9, 10 (p. 236, Bonn); II, 10, 14 (p. 239, Bonn); IV, 2, 6 (pp. 269 f. in Bonn).

<sup>160</sup> *Athènes decrites et dessinées*, p. 182.

is the only existing record of them, forms no basis for judgment. It is at least interesting that his date for the frescoes should agree so closely with ours for the earliest mediaeval activity about Klepsydra. If he is right, we must conclude that this activity indicates not merely a new period of use of the well house, but its consecration as a chapel of the Holy Apostles.<sup>161</sup>

#### FRANKISH REPAIRS

It is not until Frankish times, the middle or second half of the thirteenth century, that we again have any record of an interest in Klepsydra. Then, however, there is evidence of extensive building, or rebuilding, about the spring (Fig. 40).

When we removed the lower courses of the Bastion of Odysseus immediately outside the spring house, we found below them a few small stones set in a very soft mortar, quite distinct from the hard mortar of the Bastion of Odysseus, or the softer, but nevertheless serviceable mortar of the wall of Valerian. This was clearly the remains of a repair or reconstruction of some period between. An extraordinary stroke of fortune brought us evidence for the date. In the lowest layer of the mortar of this repair we found nine bronze coins: they were scattered over an area of only a few square centimeters, and like the coins which had been found the previous year in the mortar of the wall of Valerian, had evidently slipped from the pocket of a careless mason who sealed them over before he was aware of his loss.<sup>162</sup> All nine were coins of Guillaume Villehardouin, struck between 1245 and 1250.

It was surprising to find evidences of so thorough-going a repair at a place which should have been masked by the wall of Valerian, but the explanation is, I think, not far to seek. A massive fortification wall which lies west of the wall of Valerian has been found during the course of the excavations to date from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. It should be regarded, in all probability, as part of an extensive outwork built in preparation for the expected siege of the Acropolis by Leon Sgouros in 1204.<sup>163</sup> A portion of the wall is shown by Stuart and Revett: starting from the Odeion of Herodes, it runs north, covering the Beulé Gate and the upper sections of the wall of Valerian.<sup>164</sup> We have followed it to a point just north of the modern Acropolis Street (Fig. 40), where it swings toward the east and cuts across the line of the Valerian wall. It is evident that as long as the new circuit was kept in good repair, its existence rendered useless the last 100 meters or so of

<sup>161</sup> The chapel somehow escaped the notice of Aug. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae* (Leipzig, 1868). It is included in Xyngopoulos' list of Byzantine and Turkish churches of Athens: *Ἐνρετῆριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, vol. A', 1, *τεῦχος β'* (Athens, 1929), p. 103.

<sup>162</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 332.

<sup>163</sup> Nicetas Choniates, pp. 800 ff. (Bonn); Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands seit dem Absterben des Antiken Lebens* (4 vols., Gotha, 1876-9), I, pp. 418 f.

<sup>164</sup> *Antiquities of Athens*, II, pl. V.





Figure 29

General plan of Klepsydra and the Paved Court: actual state. *A* and *B* indicate respectively the older and the later overflow channels. The broken lines on either side of *B* mark the position of the wall of Valerian to the point where it abutted on the south wall of the Court and the masonry of the well house. Here it jogged, and from here toward the Acropolis its line is shown by the partially preserved foundations of its west face: the line of irregular masonry at the extreme south-west of the plan. The line of fine dots just east of this shows the position of the bastion of Odysseus.

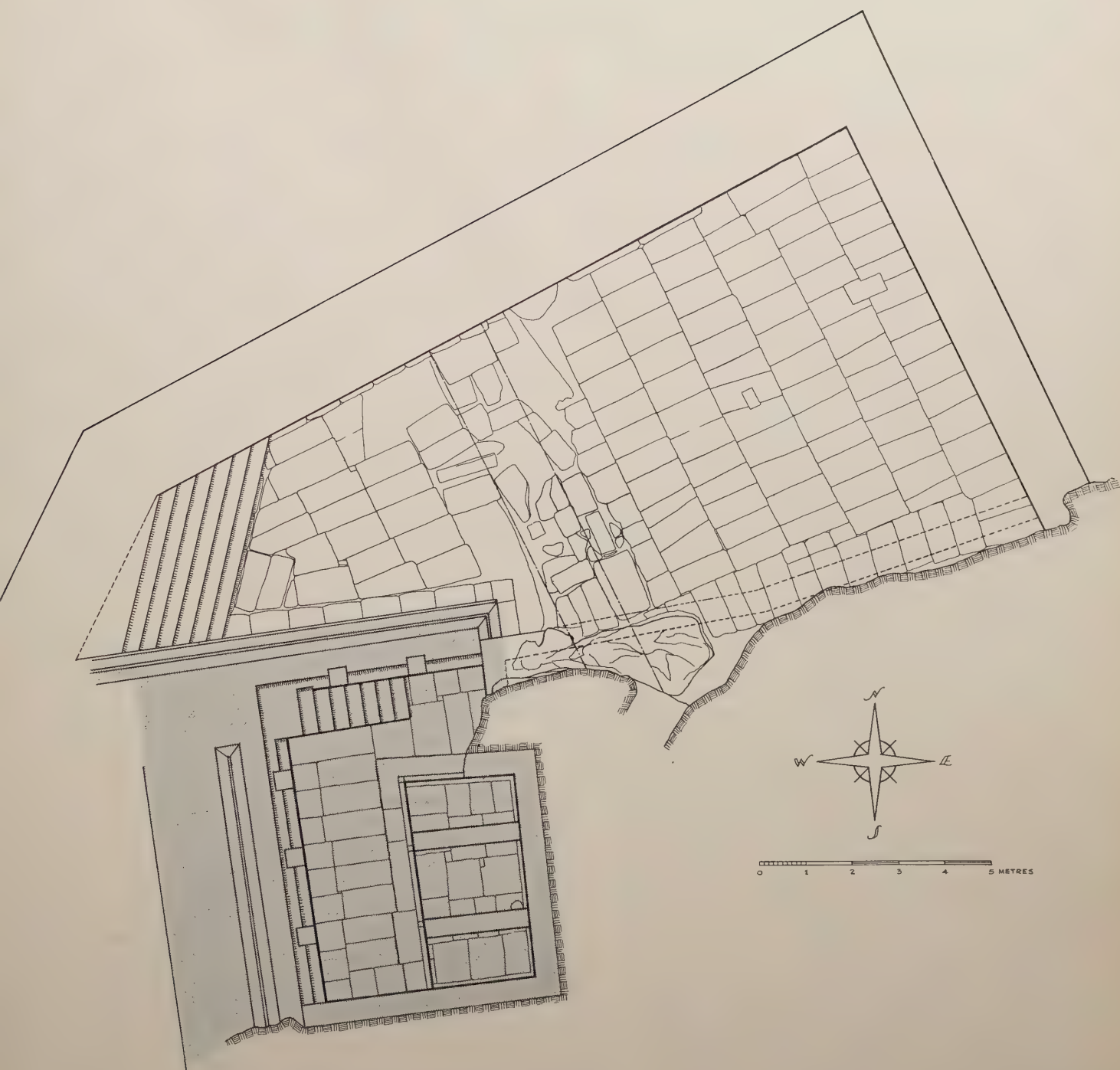


Figure 30  
Restored plan of Klepsydra and the Paved Court.





Figure 31

Plan of the well house above Klepsydra, and part of the stairway from the Acropolis. For convenience of reference, the position of the ancient drawbasin is shown with a broken line.

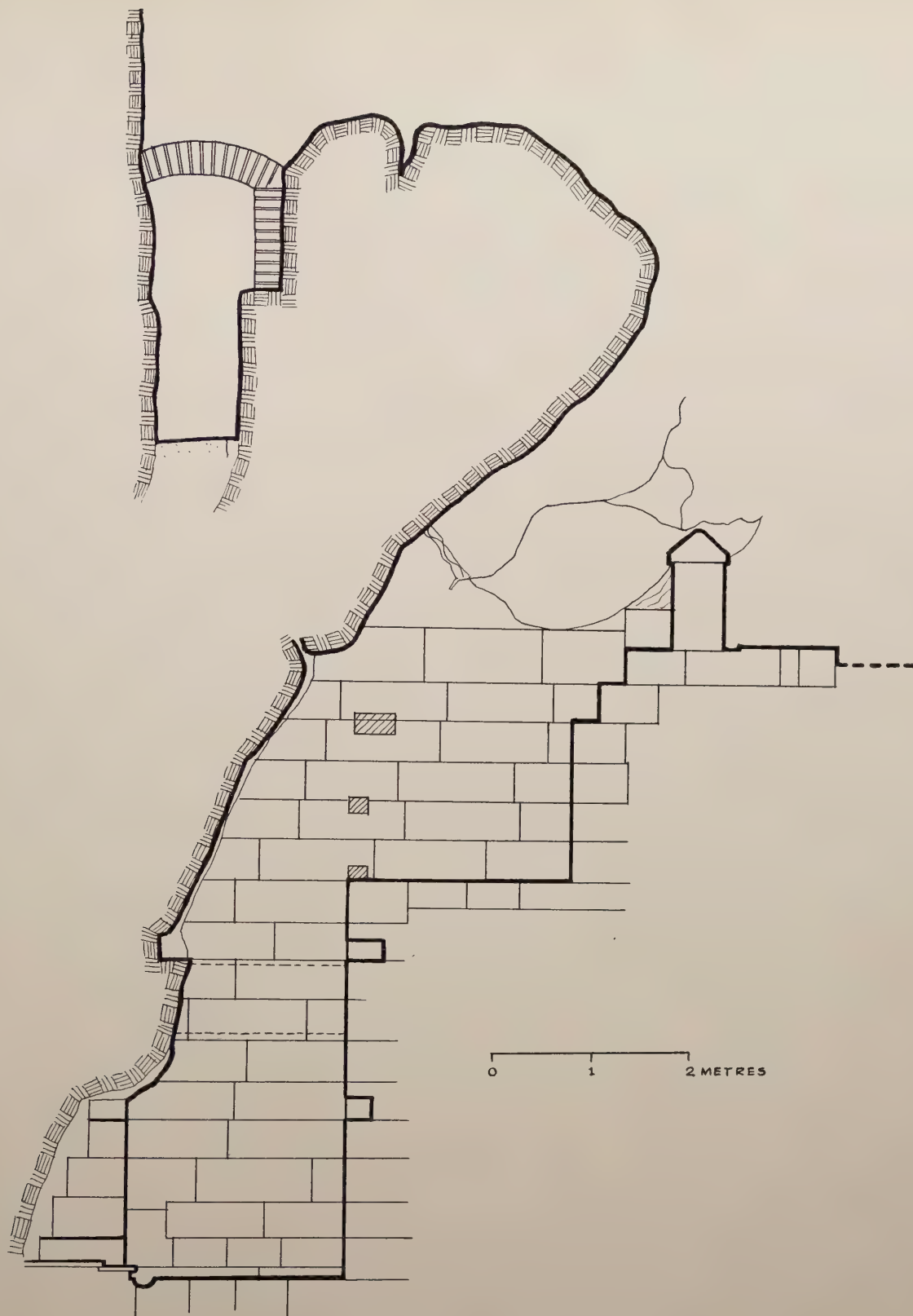


Figure 32

East-west section through Klepsydra and the entrance to the well house looking south. The section is taken on the line of the northernmost of the three inlets, and the beam sockets above it. The south wall of the spring house appears in elevation; and the marble parapet has been omitted in order to show the sockets for the original railing. The heavy broken line at the extreme right indicates the approximate ancient ground level.



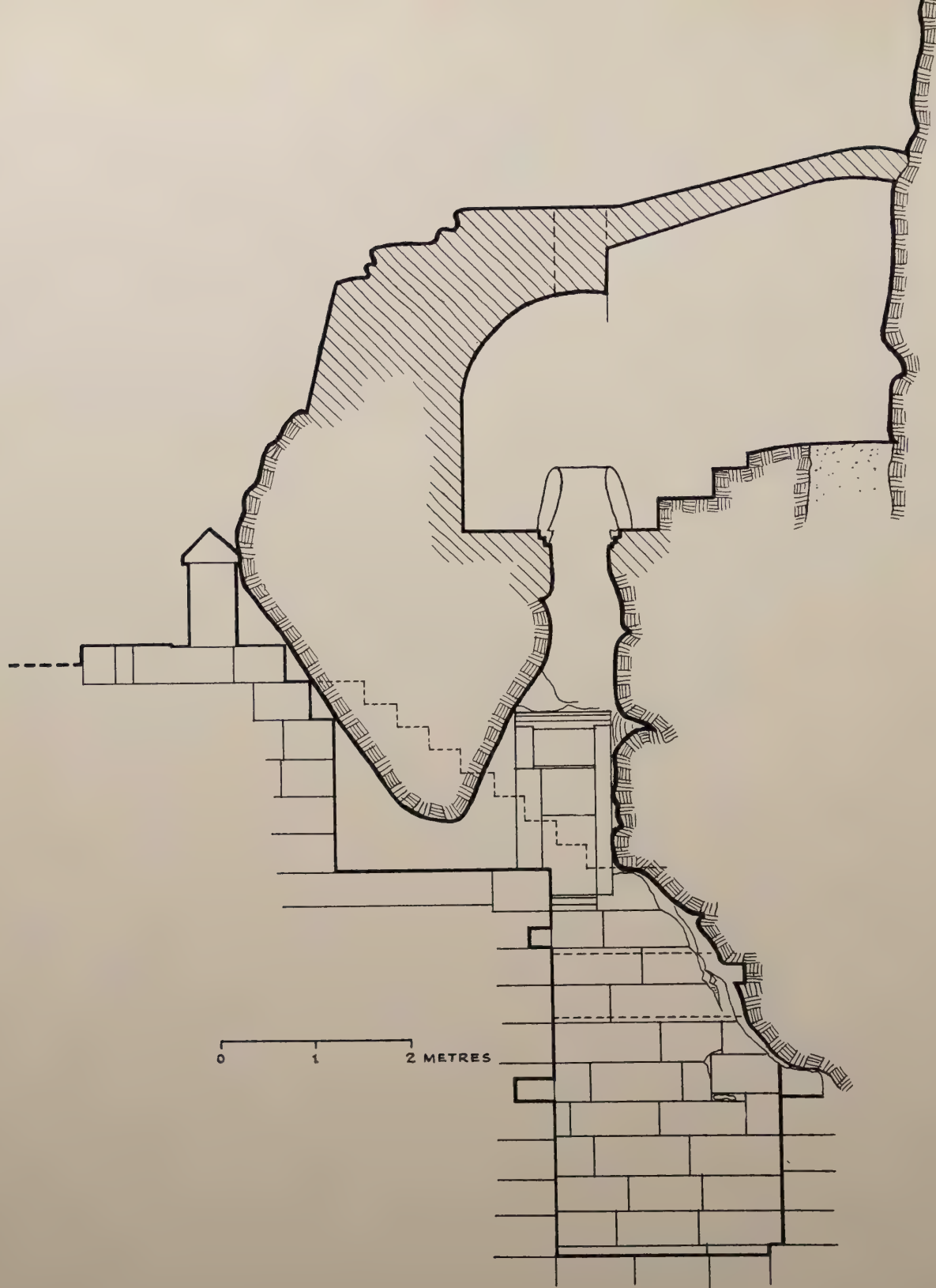


Figure 33

East-west sections through Klepsydra and the well house, looking north. The section is taken at the northern set of beam-sockets and the drawshaft; the well house is shown on its east-west axis. The north wall of Klepsydra is shown in elevation, together with the marble well beam. The steps from the entrance are indicated with a broken line.

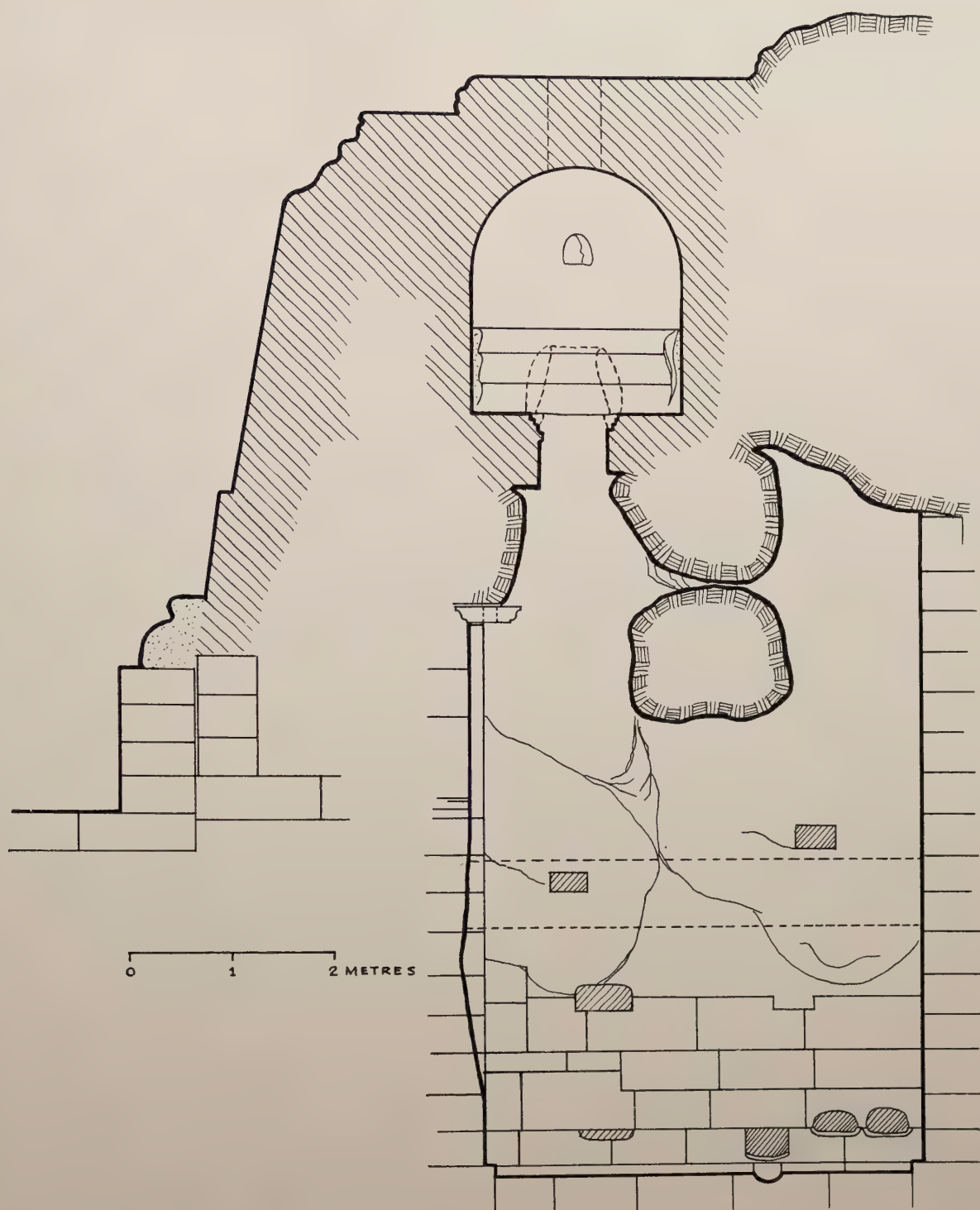


Figure 34

North-south sections through Klepsydra and the well house, looking east. The section through Klepsydra, taken on the center of the well beam, includes, at the extreme left, part of the Court, and the common wall between the two buildings. The east wall of the draw-basin is shown in elevation, with inlets and beam sockets. The section through the well house and drawshaft shows it at the widest part of the apse, with the rockcut steps, and a niche in its east wall, in elevation.



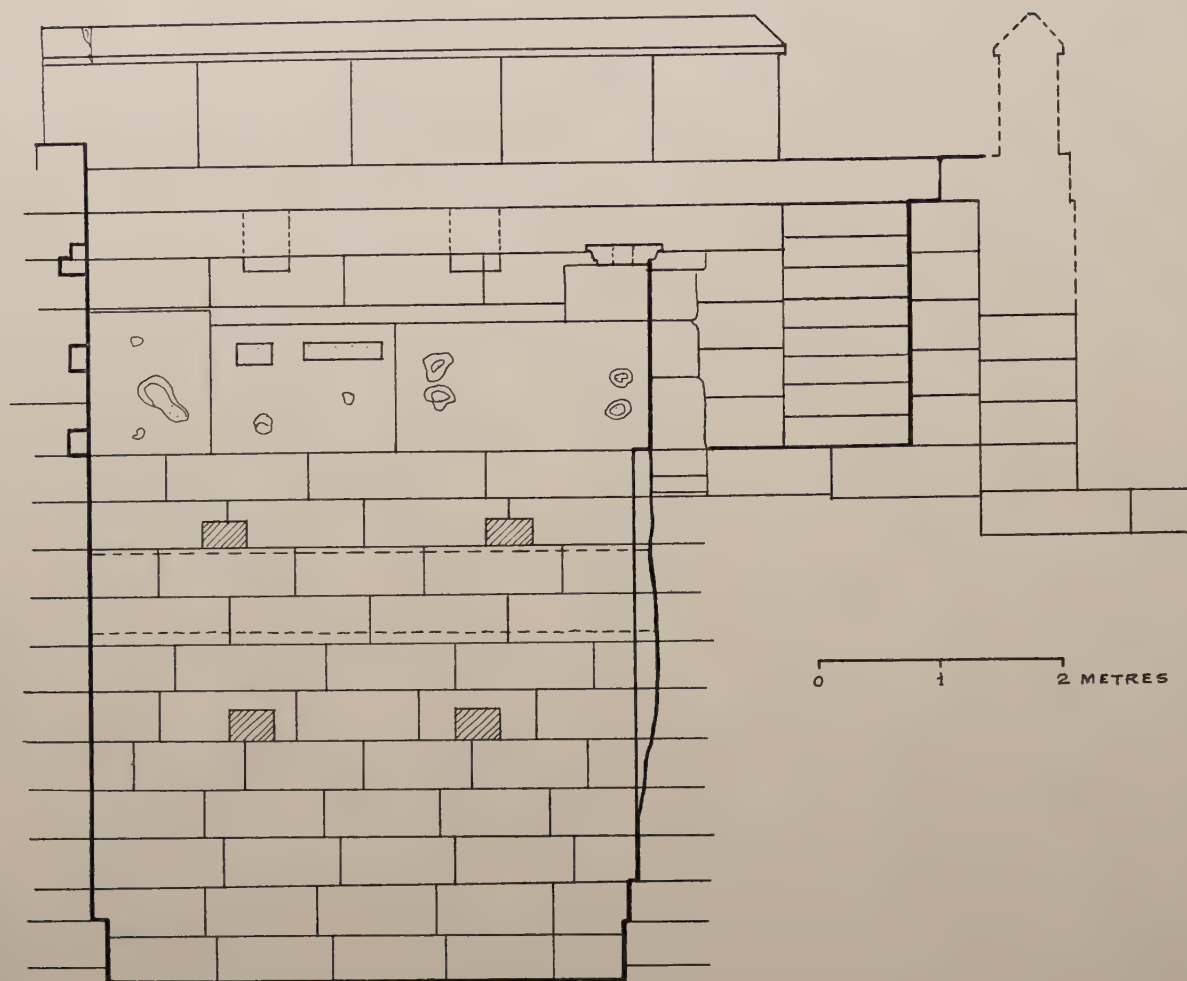


Figure 35

North-south section through Klepsydra, looking west, partly restored. The south wall of the drawbasin is shown in section on the line of the west wall and the sockets for the wooden rail; the north wall is shown at the center of the well beam; the wall between the spring house and the Court is shown partially restored.

In elevation are shown: the west wall of the drawbasin with four beam sockets; the marble parapet above it, made up of three reused bases; above and beyond the parapet, the set-back upper courses of the west wall of the spring house, with sockets for vertical posts, crowned by the orthostate wall with its coping; opposite the entrance, against the north wall of the springhouse, the steps.

the wall of Valerian. It is nearly certain, I think, that this part of the latter wall fell victim to the builders of the new wall, who found it a convenient source of building material; and that this explains why at so early a date the wall of Valerian should have been largely dismantled.

The rewalling of the spring which followed may have been rather elaborate. We have just seen that it involved the complete rebuilding of the older wall at the west. Ceramic evidence shows that the raising of the floor level inside the well house took place at this time (Figs. 19-20). Finally, the "Byzantine" doorway, which is still so conspicuous a feature of the north face of the classical wall above Klepsydra (Fig. 1), ought probably to be considered a part of this scheme.<sup>165</sup> It is obviously a successor to the old opening beneath the foundations of that wall; by its position it calls for a new stairway to the well house, and implies the existence of a "water bastion" which must have been a step between the Roman well house and the modern Bastion of Odysseus.

#### TURKISH FOUNTAINS

We do not know how long the Frankish bastion survived. It had, in any case, disappeared by the late seventeenth century. The doorway in the wall above is shown in the plans drawn by Morosini's engineers in 1687;<sup>166</sup> but it opens on nothing: outside there was only an unwallled slope.

But Klepsydra's overflow still ran out toward the north, and could be put to use. When Sir George Wheler visited Athens in 1675, in the company of Jacob Spon, he saw somewhere in this neighborhood, a "Fountain accommodated according to the Turkish mode with one or two Cocks of water."<sup>167</sup> Wheler had come down from the Areopagus toward the Acropolis, and it is evident that the fountain which he saw must have been somewhere on the western or northwestern slope of the Acropolis, but it is hard to say just where. Fortunately, Fanelli, whose account is in most respects merely an adaptation of Wheler's, just here relies on some other source and is a little more precise. He describes the fountain as being beside the path toward the Bazaar, and not far from the place where, at the time of the Venetian attack on the Acropolis, the besiegers' gallery was located.<sup>168</sup> Clearly it cannot have been very far from the

<sup>165</sup> The doorway is conspicuous in any photograph of the northwestern section of the Acropolis; cf. our Fig. 1. On the door, consult Burnouf, *Ville et l'Acropole*, pp. 69-71 and pl. XX. He would date it before the period of the Dukes of Athens, i. e., before 1260 (Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, II, pp. 144 f.; Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* [Cambridge, 1921], p. 114).

<sup>166</sup> One of Verneda's plans is reproduced by Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx*, p. 27. For others see Omont, *Athènes au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1898), *passim*.

<sup>167</sup> Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682), p. 383.

<sup>168</sup> S. Fanelli, *Atene Attica descritta da suoi principii sino all'acquisto fatto dall'armi Venete nel 1687* (Venice, 1707), p. 341. The position of the gallery is better judged from the plans of San Felice (Fanelli, p. 317; Omont, *Athènes*, p. XLV, 1) and Verneda (Omont, Pl. XXXIV) which show it approximately north of the Propylaia, than from the various views (Omont, Pl. XXXIII,



source of Klepsydra. It was once more, we may note, outside the fortifications of the Acropolis, for the Turkish outwork which later became so conspicuous a feature of the north slope had not yet been built.<sup>169</sup>

Wherever this fountain may have been and whatever its disposition, it had disappeared before the visit of Stuart and Revett. Their text and their drawings both indicate that they found here only a stream partly canalized. They correctly identified it as Klepsydra (Wheler and Fanelli had supposed it to be Enneakrounos), and they noted that the water was carried to a mosque in the Bazaar, but they make no mention of a fountain along its course.<sup>170</sup>

This first Turkish fountain was destroyed, perhaps, by the builders of the Turkish outwork in the first half of the eighteenth century (Fig. 41). But a new one was built, shortly after the time of Stuart and Revett, for Chandler saw it here in 1765, scarcely a dozen years later.<sup>171</sup> Its remains lie less than 100 meters east of Klepsydra, against the Turkish wall, facing the cobbled path which in Turkish times was the main road between the town and the *kastro*. There is not much left of it now: only the ancient marble sarcophagus which formed its basin, with a little rubble and mortar masonry built into either end, which served to support the superstructure. The water of Klepsydra was brought to it in a rectangular terracotta channel which is still in place; the Turkish builders went in as far beneath the floor of the Paved Court as the ancients had done to catch Klepsydra's overflow, and their pipes follow the Roman channel to a point just inside the outwork, whence they swing eastward along the wall of the outwork to the new fountain.

The fountain seems to have remained in use until shortly before the Greek Revolution. Dodwell,<sup>172</sup> who visited Athens in 1801 and again in 1805, makes no mention of it, but Leake noticed it in 1807,<sup>173</sup> and Hobhouse in 1810 found it still running.<sup>174</sup> But Sourmelis, whose contemporary account of Athens during the Revolution contains much interesting and quaint detail, says in discussing the rediscovery of the well house and spring in 1822 that the fountain, although still in existence,

1, 2, XXXVI, 2), which led Broneer to suppose that it was considerably farther east (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 122). The course of the road at this time is clearly shown on Verneda's plan published by Michaelis, *Comptes rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1910, p. 278, pl. I.

<sup>169</sup> The outwork appears first on the plans drawn by Stuart and Revett, who were in Athens 1751-54 (*Antiquities of Athens*, II, pl. V; III, plan of Athens following p. vi). Burnouf calls it "enceinte de l'Hypapanti" (p. 27: from the well-known small church just below it); Trikoupiis (*Ἰστορία*, IV [see below note 177], p. 75) apparently refers to it as the outwork "of the lion."

<sup>170</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 15; II, p. v, pl. V; III, p. v; and plan following p. vi, where Klepsydra is marked *Fons*.

<sup>171</sup> *Travels into Greece* (Oxford, 1776), p. 67.

<sup>172</sup> Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* (2 vols., London, 1819).

<sup>173</sup> Leake, *Topography of Athens* (2nd ed., London, 1841), I, p. 169.

<sup>174</sup> J. C. Hobhouse (1st baron Broughton), *A Journey through Albania, and other Provinces of Turkey* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1819), I, p. 298.

was dry.<sup>175</sup> Dodwell's failure to mention it is curious, since he refers to the caves and the stream below them, notices an ancient statue as he enters the outwork from the town, and comments on the character of the fortification.<sup>176</sup> Probably the fountain was not in working order at the time of his visits; there is evidence that at some time during this period the channel was blocked near its start by the settling of some of the masonry of the wall of Valerian. The channel was subsequently re-routed around the obstacle but, since the fountain seems not to have been an important one, there may have been a long interval when it was dry.

#### THE GREEK REVOLUTION; KLEPSYDRA AGAIN

In 1821, when the Turks retired to the Acropolis in anticipation of the Greek siege, they took with them ample supplies of food, but were careless about their water. They cleaned out only one of the cisterns on the Acropolis, and filled it with water which they brought up from the town. But beside this they depended on a solitary well, on the south slope, within the outwork called Serpentze.<sup>177</sup> Winter was approaching and they counted on its rains to renew their supply. But that winter was one of phenomenal drought in Athens; not a drop of rain fell on the citadel, and its discouraged defenders must have been further disheartened by the sight of frequent showers in the surrounding countryside. They were finally forced, by thirst, to surrender in June of 1822.<sup>178</sup> It is interesting that the story told on the occasion of Aristion's surrender to Curio in 86 B.C. was repeated in 1822. When Waddington visited Athens the following winter he was assured by eye witnesses that within a few hours after the Turkish surrender plentiful rain fell.<sup>179</sup>

One of the first acts of the Greek officers who took command of the Acropolis was to institute a search for an adequate water supply, lest the same thing should happen to them and their troops. For this purpose, Pittakis was appointed, as we have seen (above p. 195), and apparently by tracing the pipes back from the fountain, ultimately he discovered the well house above Klepsydra. When the ancient draw-basin had been discovered and cleaned, the problem of incorporating it once more within the fortifications was a simple one. At the command of the famous general, Odysseus Andritzos, a second well house was constructed on the top of the vault of the old one, a second stairway above the ancient stairway, and the whole was enclosed in a mighty bastion. Odysseus recorded his part in the work in an inscription set in

<sup>175</sup> Sourmelis, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν κατὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα* (Aegina, 1834), p. 42, note.

<sup>176</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 305, 310.

<sup>177</sup> S. Trikoupi, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως* (4 vols., London, 1853-57), I, pp. 209, 212; II, pp. 248 ff.; Finlay, *A History of Greece* (new ed., 7 vols., Oxford, 1877), VI, p. 283.

<sup>178</sup> Trikoupi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 251; Finlay, *loc. cit.*

<sup>179</sup> Waddington, *A Visit to Greece in 1823 and 1824* (2nd. ed., London, 1825), p. 60.



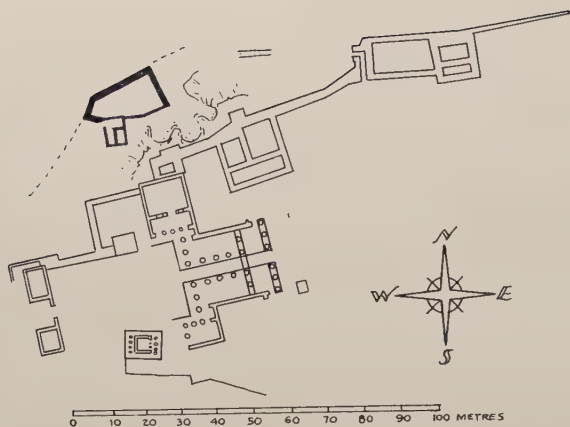


Figure 36

Klepsydra and the Paved Court about 460 B.C.: a sketch plan to show the buildings in relation to their surroundings at the time of their construction. The dotted lines suggest what must have been the general direction of the Panathenaic street and the Peripatos. The patch of double line with stippling between shows the position of the wall-bedding on the ledge above and to the east of the Court.

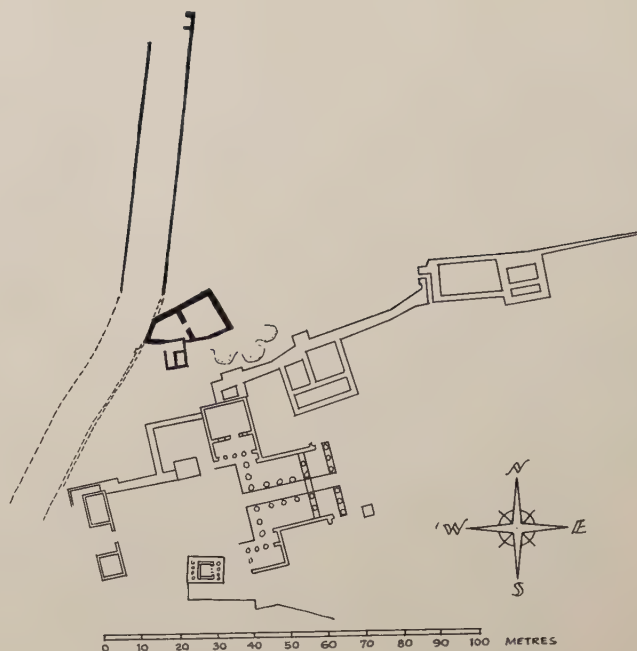


Figure 37

Klepsydra and the Paved Court about A.D. 50. The Claudian *anabasis* has been built; and the transverse wall now divides the Court into two parts.

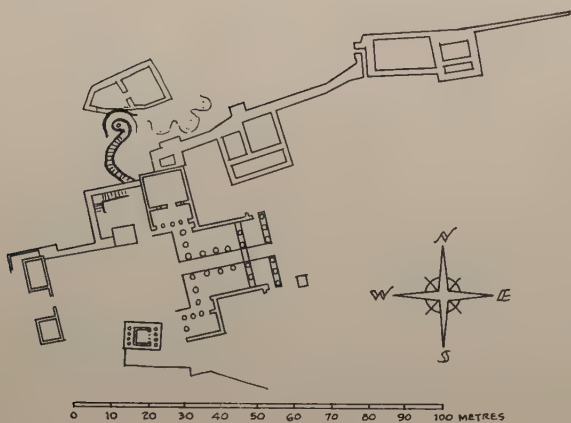


Figure 38

Klepsydra and the Paved Court at the end of the second century after Christ. With the construction of the well house, Klepsydra is no longer accessible from outside, and the Court is apparently abandoned.



Figure 39

Klepsydra at the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. The wall of Valerian, built about A.D. 275-300, has still further strengthened the defenses of the spring; the overflow is now collected in the new reservoir, thirty meters or so down the slope.



Figure 40

Klepsydra in the second half of the thirteenth century after Christ. Construction of the new fortification, covering much of the west and north slopes of the Acropolis, has resulted in the demolition of that stretch of the wall of Valerian which had protected the well house. A new bastion now encloses the spring, and the well house is reached from a new doorway in the ancient wall below the Propylaea.



Figure 41

Klepsydra at the end of the eighteenth century after Christ. The Roman well house, the Frankish bastion, all but the overflow of the old spring is forgotten. A new Turkish outwork protects this part of the slope, and the water is piped along it to a new fountain (marked F) beside the road from the town.



Figure 42

Klepsydra in 1822. The Turkish fountain is now dry. Following the capture of the Acropolis by the Greeks, the Bastion of Odysseus encloses the spring, and a new flight of steps makes the water once more accessible to the defenders of the citadel.



the wall, and the bastion became familiar to archaeologists throughout the last century as the Bastion of Odysseus.<sup>180</sup>

During the next few years the newly built bastion and the water within it did yeoman service in the defense of Greek freedom. In the summer of 1826 began the long siege of the Acropolis by the Turks under the famous general, Kioutahis. For nearly a year the siege continued; and when the Greeks surrendered finally in May, 1827, it was not through lack of water, not really through lack of food either, but because the garrison, isolated when the Greek forces in the surrounding country were defeated and driven off, wounded and sick and discouraged after the sufferings of a winter without adequate shelter, felt that nothing was to be gained by holding out longer.<sup>181</sup>

As the Greeks, five years before, had directed their efforts chiefly at cutting off the Turks' water supply, so the Turks, time after time again during the winter, tried to destroy, when they saw they could not capture, the Bastion of Odysseus.<sup>182</sup> Working from the neighborhood of the Church of the Hypapanti, the besiegers dug tunnel after tunnel, in an attempt to mine the bastion and blow it up. The Greeks from inside the fortification below the bastion were kept busy with counter-mines, but thanks to the ingenuity of one Kostas Hormovas, or Hormovites, who had distinguished himself as a sapper at the siege of Missolonghi, they were successful, in every case, in anticipating the plans of the enemy. The bastion withstood all attacks; the water, deep within it, never failed.

## APPENDIX

### TESTIMONIA

#### I. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 910-913:

Κι. σὺ δ' οὐ κατακλίνει;

Μυ. ποῦ γὰρ ἂν τις καί, τάλαν,

<sup>180</sup> Trikoupis, *op. cit.*, II, p. 355; Burnouf, *Ville et l'Acropole*, pp. 39 ff., pls. XV, XIX; Wordsworth (*Athens and Attica*, p. 84) gives a transcription of the inscription and translates it: "Odysseus, General of the Greeks, raised from its foundations this Bastion over a source of Spring Water in the year M. DCCC. XXII. and month of September." The best plan of the bastion is that in Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 191, fig. 16 (from Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas*, 22); easily accessible photographs: Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 540, fig. 2; A. Boetticher, *Die Acropolis von Athen* (Berlin, 1888), frontispiece.

<sup>181</sup> Trikoupis, *Ἱστορία*, IV, p. 163.

<sup>182</sup> For all this, cf. Burnouf's account (*Ville et l'Acropole*, pp. 45 f.) taken from Sourmelis; also Trikoupis, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 79 f. It is of interest to us because we found, just within the Turkish outwork, a series of roughly made shafts which terminate in tunnels leading north under the wall, which are almost certainly some of the Greek countermines; while a few meters north of the wall, the native schist of the slope is torn and broken exactly as though by a subterranean explosion.

δράσειε τοῦθ' ;

Κι. ὅπου; τὸ τοῦ Πανὸς καλόν·

Μν. καὶ πῶς ἔθ' ἀγνὴ δῆτ' ἂν ἔλθοιμ' ἐς πόλιν;

Κι. κάλλιστα δῆπου, λουσαμένη τῇ Κλεψύδρα.

I A. Schol., 911:

. . . πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Πανείου ἢ Κλεψύδρα ἦν κρήνη.

I B. Schol., 913:

Ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἦν κρήνη ἢ Κλεψύδρα, πρότερον Ἐμπεδῶ λεγομένη· ὠνομάσθη δὲ Κλεψύδρα διὰ τὸ ποτὲ μὲν πλημμυρεῖν ποτὲ δὲ ἐνδεῖν· ἔχει δὲ τὰς ῥύσεις ὑπὸ γῆν, φέρουσα εἰς τὸν Φλεγρεώδη λειμῶνα.

Φλεγρεώδη λειμῶνα: cf. Test. V, VI A.

II. Plutarch, *Ant.*, 34:

Ἐξιέναι δὲ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον (38 B.C.), ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας στέφανον ἔλαβε καὶ κατὰ τι λόγιον ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεψύδρας ὕδατος ἐμπλησάμενος ἀγγεῖον ἐκόμιζεν.

III. Pausanias, I, 28, 4:

Καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια πηγὴ τε ὕδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ. Κρεοῦση δὲ θυγατρὶ Ἐρεχθέως Ἀπόλλωνα ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι νομίζουσι.

IV. Schol. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 857:

Κλεψύδρα κρήνη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἥτις Ἐμπεδῶ προσηγορεύετο.

V. Schol. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1694 (Istros, frg. 11, *F.H.G.*, I, 419):

. . . Κλεψύδρα κρήνη ἐν Ἀργεῖ . . .

κρήνη ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἢ Κλεψύδρα ἥς Ἰστρος ἐν τῇ ιβ' μέμνηται, τὰ παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ἀναλεγόμενος, οὕτως δὲ ὠνομάσθαι ἐπειδὴ ἀρχομένων τῶν ἐτησίων πληροῦται, παυομένων δὲ λήγει, ὁμοίως τῷ Νεῖλῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν ἐν Δήλῳ κρήνην· εἰς ταύτην δὲ φασιν ἡματωμένην φιάλην πεσοῦσαν ὀφθῆναι ἐν τῷ Φαληρικῷ ἀπέχοντι σταδίους εἴκοσι· φασὶ δὲ αὐτὴν ἀπέραντον βάθος ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀλμυρόν.

ἐν Ἀργεῖ: Bentley and Dobree emend to ἄσται, from Hesychius *s.v.* πεδῶ (Test. VI C), Dindorf to ἀκροπόλει from the following scholion. It is a fair guess that the original read ἐν Πελαργικῷ (though the spring actually lay just above, not within, the probable limits of the Pelargikon); Πελάσγικον Ἀργος (of the familiar oracle, Schol. Theocritus,



xiv, 48 [Deinias Arg., frg. 7, *F.H.G.*, III, 24 ff.]: discussed by Allen, *C.Q.*, III, 1909, p. 85) and Πελαργικὸν ἀργόν (Thuc., II, 17) were easily confused; cf. the scholion on Arist. *Panath.* 111, 2 (Dind.): μαρτυρεῖ Θουκυδίδης, τὸ Πελασγέϊ καὶ Ἄργος εἰπών.

VI. Hesychius:

- A. Κλεψύδρα· κρήνη ἣτις τὸ πρότερον Ἐμπεδὼ προσηγορεύετο· ἔχει δὲ τὰς ῥύσεις ἀνατελλούσας εἰς τὸν Φαληρέων δῆμον.
- B. κλεψίρρυτον ὕδωρ· τὸ τῆς Κλεψύδρας· αὕτη δέ ἐστι κρήνη Ἀθήνησιν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ὑπὸ γῆν φερομένη, εἰς ἣν τὰ ἐμβαλλόμενα πάλιν θεωρεῖται ἀρχομένων τῶν ἐτησίων.
- C. Πεδῶ· ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Κλεψύδρα κρήνη ἐν ἄστει.

VII. Photius:

Κλεψύδρα· κρήνη ἐν ἀκροπόλει οὕτως καλεῖται.

VIII. Suidas:

Κλεψύδρα· ἡ πηγὴ· διὰ τὸ ποτὲ μὲν πλημμυρεῖν ποτὲ δὲ ἐνδεῖν.

IX. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 326 ff.:

- Χορ. Γυν. ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι τόδε· μῶν ὑστερόπους βοηθῶ;  
 νῦν δὲ γὰρ ἐμπλησαμένη τὴν ὑδρίαν κνεφαία  
 μόγισ ἀπὸ κρήνης ὑπ' ὄχλου καὶ θορύβου καὶ πατάγου χυτρείου,  
 δούλῃσιν ὥστιζομένη  
 στιγματαίαις θ' ἀρπαλέως  
 ἀραμένη, ταῖσιν ἐμαῖς  
 δημότισιν καομέναις  
 φέρουσ' ὕδωρ βοηθῶ.

We cannot be sure, of course, that Aristophanes had the Klepsydra in mind as he wrote this passage. But it seems very probable: it was the only considerable source within easy reach of the women; and the picture of the chorus of old women hurrying around the shoulder of the Acropolis with their water-jars, to meet the old men climbing up with their firebrand seems a very natural one.

X. Affidavit published by Pittakis, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1853, p. 1066 (no. 2010), note 1:

Κυριακὸς Πιττάκης Ἀθηναῖος, νέος χρηστός, δουλεύων ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα μὲ ἐνθερμον ζῆλον καὶ πατριωτικὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν, διορισθεὶς δὲ ἐν τῷ

Φρουρίῳ μετὰ τὴν παραλαβὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξετάζων εἰς τὴν ἀνίχνευσιν τοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἑρεχθέως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν φρέατος, καὶ εὐρὼν τὴν πλησίον τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Πανὸς πηγὴν, τὴν ὁποίαν οἱ παλαιοὶ Κλεψύδραν ἐκάλουν, λαμβάνει εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τὸ παρὸν ὑπογεγραμμένον παρὰ τῶν συμπατριωτῶν του, καὶ ἐσφραγισμένον τῇ σφραγίδι τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως.

Ἐν Ἀθήναις, τῇ 10 Ὀκτωβρίου 1823.

Νεόφυτος Πεντελιώτης, Διονύσιος Πετράκης, Ν. Ζαχαρίτζας, Ἰωάννης Βλάχος, Χ. Σπ. Γκιγάκης, Χαρίτος Κτενᾶς, Σπῦρος Βουγιουκλῆς, Παλαιολόγος Βενιζέλος, Ἀγγελος Γέροντας, Νικόλαος Βάθης πρωτομάστορης τῶν κτιστῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπογράφομαι διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Ἐλευθερίου Βάθης, μὴν ἡξεύρων γράμματα.

Τ. Σ.

Τὸ πιστοποιητικὸν τοῦτο δημοσιεύω ἐνταῦθα οὐχὶ διὰ τὰ καυχῆθῶ, ἀλλ' ἵνα χρησιμεύσῃ εἰς τὰ περὶ Κλεψύδρας ἱστορούμενα χρονικά.

ARTHUR W. PARSONS





# STOAS AND CITY WALLS ON THE PNYX

## PREFACE

Exploration carried out in 1930-31 on the Pnyx at Athens made tolerably clear the history of the ancient Assembly Place and the scheme of the auditorium in its several periods.<sup>1</sup> Two short campaigns in the summers of 1932 and 1934 exposed the foundations of a public building on top of the hill to the south of the Assembly Place and produced some new information about the city walls which have always been partly visible on the outer brow of the same hill.<sup>2</sup> This summary examination, however, raised more problems than it solved about both the Stoa and the fortifications. Exploration was therefore renewed for one month in the summer of 1936 and for two months in the summer of 1937. On this occasion, as before, the work was done under the joint auspices of the Department of Antiquities in the Greek Government and of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The excavation was directed jointly by the undersigned. It must be emphasized that further excavation is needed at a number of critical points of both the public buildings and the fortifications, so that certain of the conclusions presented now are to be regarded as tentative. In view of the circumstances of our time, however, it has seemed best to present the available material without further delay. In the following report Mr. Thompson has been responsible for the section on the public buildings, Mr. Scranton for that on the City Walls.<sup>3</sup>

## I. THE STOAS

### INTRODUCTION

The excavations of 1932 and 1934 had brought to light the foundations of a stoa-like building of moderate size on the hilltop immediately to the south of the

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 90-217: "The Pnyx in Athens."

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 151-200: "The Pnyx and Thesmophorion."

<sup>3</sup> The authors are grateful for assistance and courtesies to the officers both of the Department of Antiquities and of the American School, in particular to Dr. K. Kourouniotes, Professor Charles Mergan and Professor Lamar Crosby. Thanks are due to the Committee for the Excavation of the Athenian Agora who through Prof. T. L. Shear made available the services of their architect, Mr. John Travlos. In brief intervals of training for the defense of his country, Mr. Travlos prepared the accompanying plans and drawings, all save those for Figs. 7 and 13. We have incurred many debts of gratitude for expert help and advice among the membership of the American School, notably to Miss Alison Frantz, Miss Margaret MacVeagh, Mrs. H. A. Thompson, Mr. Arthur Parsons, and Mr. Eugene Schweigert. The photographs are by Hermann Wagner.

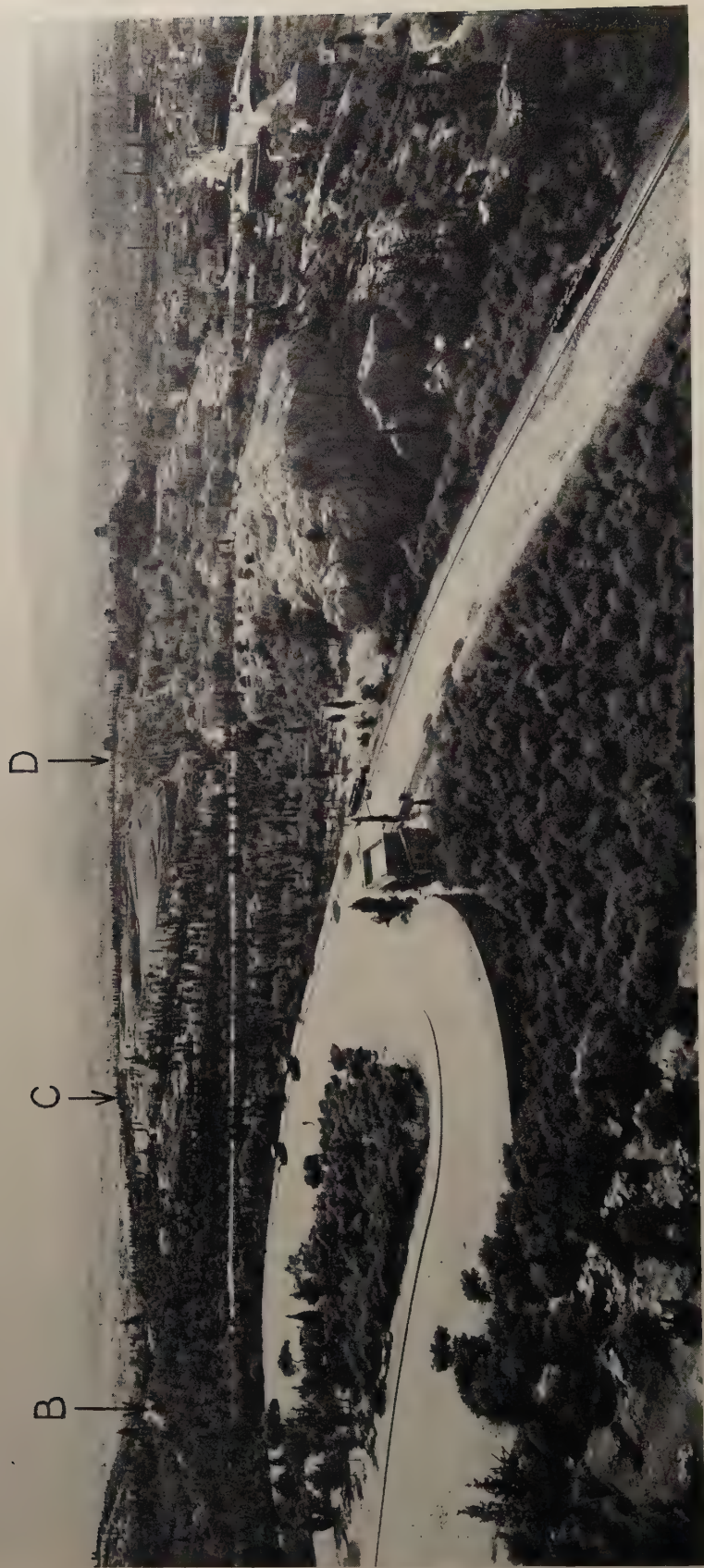


Fig. 1. The Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs from the Acropolis

B, Dipylon

C, East End of East Stoa

D, North End of West Stoa



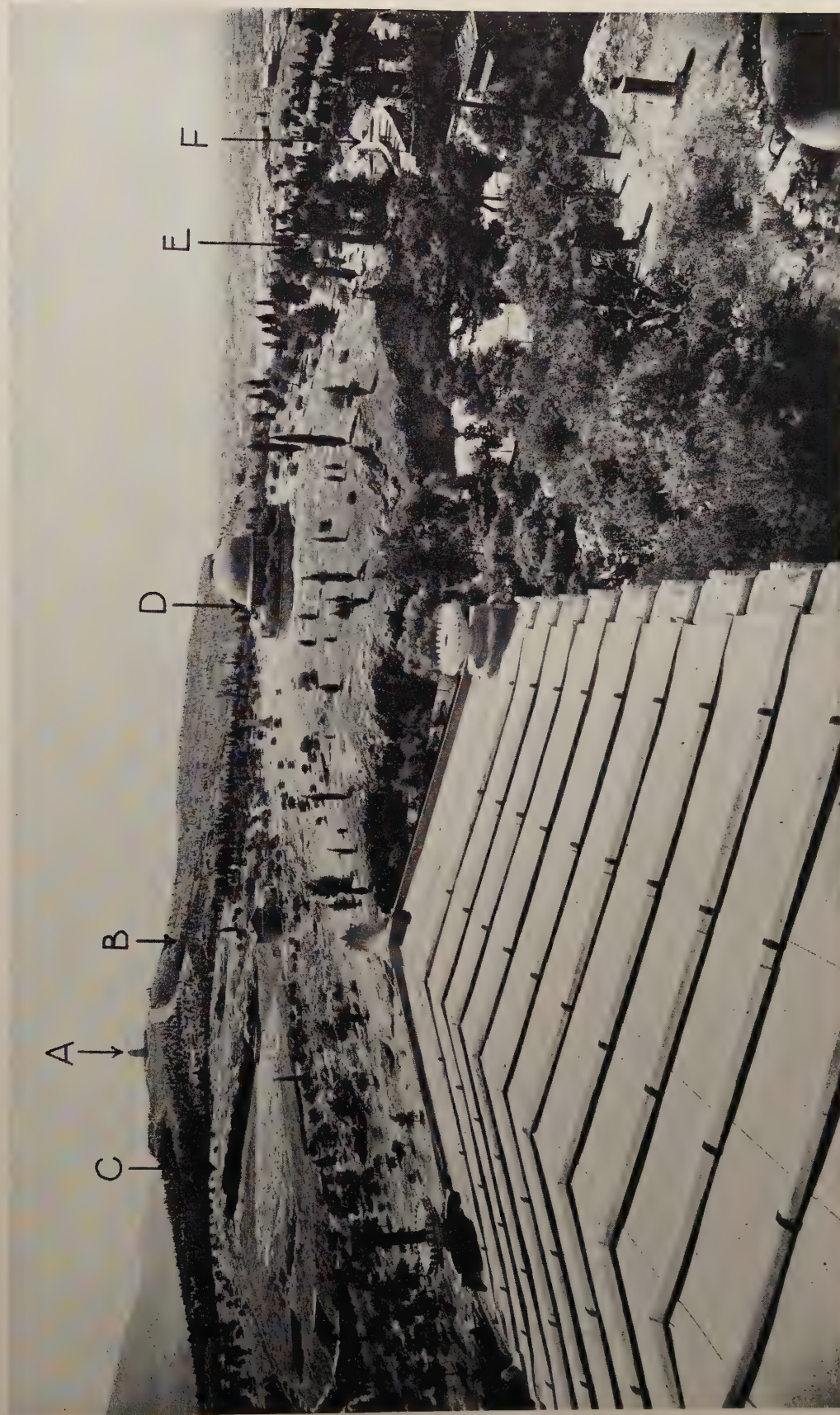


Fig. 2. The Pnyx from the Hill of the Nymphs

A, Monument of Philopappos

B, Tower C4

C, East End of East Stoa

D, North End of West Stoa

E, Tower W2

F, Tower W1



Assembly Place.<sup>4</sup> During construction, the placing of the building had been slightly altered so that two sets of foundations may now be distinguished. In the report of the earlier excavations this building was labelled the Long Stoa; it was associated with a sanctuary which shared the hilltop and which was then thought to be the Thesmophorion. The exploration of the city walls in subsequent campaigns yielded an unexpected by-product in the shape of a second stoa-like building,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  times as long as the first, that occupied the hilltop to the southwest of the Assembly Place (Figs. 1-2). From their similarity in scheme and from their contemporaneity, the two buildings would appear to be parts of one building program. Construction on both was abandoned at an early stage to permit of a fortification wall being laid above the foundations for their back walls. Since their ancient names are unknown, we now propose to call them the East and the West Stoa on the Pnyx. The first and second periods of the smaller building may be known respectively as East Stoa A and East Stoa B.

The West Stoa can be restored with more certainty and so it will be dealt with first.

#### WEST STOA

The contour lines of Plate XIV show a long and comparatively level area on top of the central Pnyx hill to the southwest of the Assembly Place. This area was skilfully utilized by the architect of the West Stoa, who placed his building so as to reduce to a minimum the cutting down and building up necessary in the preparation of its foundations and at the same time so as to leave room for a terrace of generous breadth between the new building and the Assembly Place. This promenade overlooked the city and the central Attic plain.

The building, measured on its foundation beddings, has an over-all width of 19.30 m. and length of 149.32 m. Subsequent calculation will show that the length between the outer faces of the end walls was *ca.* 148.105 m.; it was probably planned as 450 feet ( $450 \times 0.328 = 147.600$ ). The terrace is 15.80 m. wide through most of its length, but expands toward its eastern end.

The northwestern end of the area of the building has been completely cleared over a length of 24 metres; the remaining two corners were exposed and the front foundations were examined by means of cross trenches at three points. More clearing might profitably be done, especially with a view to making more precise the position of the interior walls and to clarifying the way in which the fortification wall was laid over the foundations of the building.

The entire building is outlined by a bedding dressed from the living rock to a width of 1.75 m. (Figs. 3 and 4). On the northeastern long side the cutting of this width was adjoined on its outer edge by a bedding 1.00 m. wide cut down to approximately the same depth. It is clear that the two beddings were not cut at one and the

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 151 ff.

same time but that they are of the same program. No blocks remain of the northwest end wall; none has been found in the limited area cleared in the line of the south-east end wall. Two isolated blocks remain in place near the north end of the southwest wall.



Fig. 3. North End of West Stoa from the Southwest. A, North Corner of Stoa.  
B, Front Edge of West Terrace

The northeast foundations have fared best because of the deep filling of earth that sheltered their mid part. At three points the lowest course of large conglomerate blocks was found in place. The main part of the bedding is filled by two rows lying side by side and resting on bedrock. The narrower bedding accommodated a single row of blocks which toward either end of the building rested on bedrock (Fig. 4); in the mid part, where bedrock lies lower, this row of blocks, of the corresponding course, was supported by a packing of field stones (Fig. 5). In the bottom of the narrow bedding rectangular pits occur; three were exposed in the solid rock toward the northwest end of the building, one was found to have been formed by the omission of a conglomerate block toward the southeast end (Fig. 6). These sinkings are of



the full width, or very nearly the full width of the lesser bedding; they are *ca.* 1.70 m. long and descend 0.26 to 0.29 m. below the floor of the lesser bedding. The level readings on the plans (Pls. XV and XVI) suggest that the bottoms of the pits lie lower as the series approaches either end of the building. In the mid part the pits are spaced uniformly at interaxial intervals of 8.06 m.; but the end pits are centred each 10.18 m. from the outermost edge of the bedding for the neighboring end wall.



Fig. 4. Bedding for Northeast Corner of West Stoa, from the Southwest

In the limited area cleared, interior beddings were detected only toward the northwestern end of the building. The workings fall into a line parallel with the long sides of the building and rather closer to its front than to its back. They attain a maximum width of *ca.* 4.00 m. at their northwest end. That part of the bedding immediately adjacent to the northwest end of the building is clean and deeply cut; elsewhere the dressing is shallow and spasmodic by comparison with that for the outer foundations and gives the impression of incompleteness.

For the restoration of the building, it is important to observe that its main front looked toward the northeast. Whereas the approaches to the two ends of the building



and to its southwest flank were naturally rough and were apparently not improved by the architect, the northeast side was made readily accessible throughout its length from the stately terrace. The uniformity in the foundations on all sides of the building might have suggested that the four sides were treated alike, i. e., presumably,



Fig. 5. Front Foundations of West Stoa near its Middle,  
from the Southwest

closed with walls, for which the bedding 1.75 m. wide would have been suitable. But what of the narrow bedding adjoining the main working on the northeast flank? That this was intended to carry a gutter for the rain water from the roof is suggested by analogy with similar large buildings such as the Stoa of Attalos in Athens, and is perhaps confirmed by the regularly changing levels of the bottoms of the rectangular

pits. These pits were undoubtedly occupied by deeper blocks of stone in which were cut basins to catch the sand and so facilitate cleaning. The uniformity in the spacing of the pits is noteworthy. Had there been no compelling reason for this regularity, it would undoubtedly have been more economical to use blocks of random length and not adhere too strictly to a uniform spacing. Such, in fact, were the circumstances and the practice, for instance, in the Stadium at Epidauros.<sup>5</sup> The only ground that suggests itself for the uniform spacing in the present case is the existence of columns



Fig. 6. Front Foundation of West Stoa, near its South End, from the North.  
Note the Cavity for a Catch Basin in the Foreground

on the adjoining foundation. On the analogy of the Market of Caesar and Augustus and of the Northwest Stoa of the Athenian Agora, both of which were equipped with gutters and catch basins, the basins may be restored, not opposite columns, but opposite intercolumnar spaces.<sup>6</sup> The interaxial space of the pits in the building on the Pnyx, viz., 8.06 m., is, of course, impossibly great to correspond to a single pair of columns. Even the half of it is excessive. One third, however, i. e., 2.686 m., would be suitable for a building of the scale of the present.<sup>7</sup>

From Athenian practice of the period we may safely assume that the outer order of the Stoa was Doric and that the frieze had three triglyphs and three metopes to

<sup>5</sup> Πρακτικά, 1902, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> For the Market of Caesar and Augustus cf. Ἀρχ. Δελτ., 1930-31, παράρτημα, pp. 1 ff., plate; for the Northwest Stoa of the Agora cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 219, fig. 126, p. 339.

<sup>7</sup> The East Stoa in the Athenian Asklepieion, 2.75-2.76 m.; the Stoa of Eumenes, 2.451 m.; the Stoa of Attalos, 2.423 m.; the Middle Stoa of the Athenian Agora, 3.04 m.; the South Stoa of the Athenian Agora, 2.97 m.



the intercolumniation. A simple calculation will now show that the spacing called for by the colonnade and its frieze harmonizes perfectly with the spacing between the outermost pits and the beddings for the end walls of the building; i. e., on the supposition that there were  $3\frac{1}{2}$  interaxial spaces between the outermost pit and the end wall, the end walls may be centred, or very nearly centred on the beddings intended for them.

The number of columns may now be calculated. The measured distance between the midpoints of the two outermost pits is 128.96 m., i. e.,  $\frac{128.96}{2.686} = 48$  interaxial spaces. To these must be added the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  spaces beyond each of the outermost pits, making 55 interaxial spaces in all, enclosed by 56 supports.

For the sake of demonstration we may choose for the columns an arbitrary but plausible lower diameter of 0.75 m. and fix the width of the triglyph at one half this figure, i. e., 0.375 m. The width of the metope may be reckoned as  $\frac{2.686 - (3 \times 0.375)}{8}$ , or 0.520 m. The walls have been restored with a thickness of 0.70 m. The total length of the building measured on the frieze may be restored as the sum of 55 interaxial spaces and the width of 2 half triglyphs, i. e.,  $(55 \times 2.686 \text{ m.}) + 0.375 \text{ m.} = 148.105 \text{ m.}$  This figure has been used on the restored plan (Fig. 7) for the length between the outer faces of the end walls measured near floor level; but in actual fact the figure may have been slightly augmented by the thickening of the wall from top to bottom.

The restoration of the exact width of the building at floor level depends on the number of steps beneath the colonnade and on the number of triglyphs and metopes used in the frieze across the end walls. On the foundation bedding beneath the colonnade toward the northwest end of the building we may restore a levelling course or euthynteria and, with great probability, two rather than three steps. A third step would have necessitated a vast mass of additional and costly filling inside the building. It would also have crowded a bedding only 1.75 m. wide, for the normal Athenian practice was to lay a foundation *ca.* 2.00 m. wide for a colonnade with three steps. A simple calculation will show that the end frieze is best restored with a length of 20 triglyphs of 0.375 m. and 19 metopes of 0.520 m., i. e., 17.380 m. The batter on the face of the anta, the width of the step, the projection of the euthynteria may be reckoned as totalling *ca.* 0.48 m., so that the width of the building from the face of the euthynteria to the outer face of the back wall has been restored as 17.86 m. It will be noted that the back wall thus rests in a satisfactory way on its bedding.

Since the beddings for the end walls are of the same width throughout, there would appear to have been no return of the steps around the front corners of the building. Hence the end walls may be supposed to have been carried forward to the front of the stylobate and an *in antis* rather than a prostyle scheme is indicated for the colonnade.

The evidence for the interior arrangements, as already observed, is very exiguous. We may, however, rule out the possibility of interior columns. The normal practice



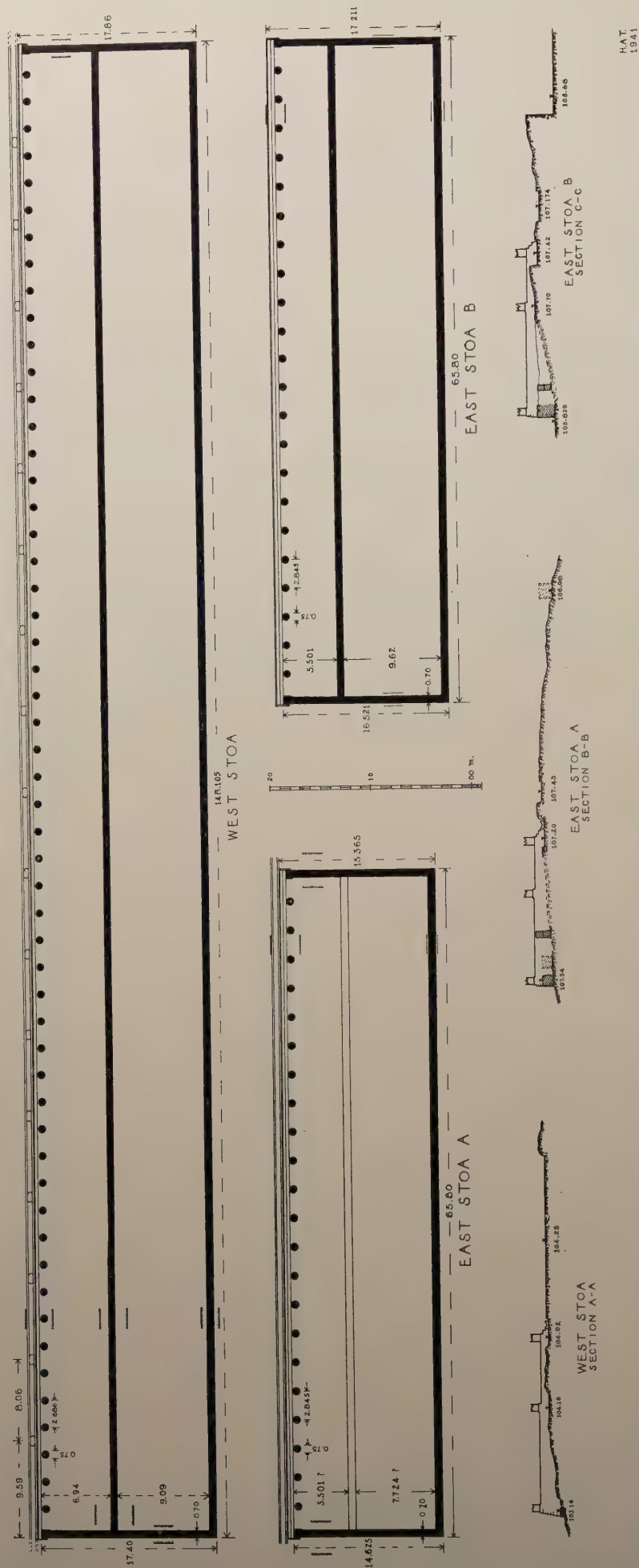


Fig. 7. Restored Plans and Sections of Stoas

in such buildings, when both an inner and an outer colonnade were planned, was to equate one inner with two outer interaxial spaces. But we have found that the outer colonnade of the present building numbered 55 spaces, a number which cannot be halved. Since, however, the great width of the building demanded interior supports, we may restore a wall and place it on the line indicated by the slightly worked beddings.

No evidence is available for the treatment of the area between the inner wall and the back wall. The clear opening was great: 9.09 m. on the restored plan. It is unlikely that such a space was roofed without interior supports. The Portico of Philip V on Delos, to be sure, had a clear opening of 8.90 m. But the royal author of the Delian building was clearly bent on showing off, and his architect probably approached the limit of practicability in such construction.<sup>8</sup> In the case of the Stoa on the Pnyx it is easier to believe that the problem of roofing was simplified by the insertion of cross-walls forming rooms, conceivably two rows of them, between the two long walls.<sup>9</sup> A thorough search for traces of such cross-walls should be made in the better protected southeastern part of the building. In the northwestern part, however, where the bedrock has been stripped, no trace whatever has been detected, and it must be counted very doubtful whether even the beddings for such walls were ever prepared, even if planned.

We should gladly know whether the architect had planned for one storey or for two. Though no trace of stairways has been found, this must not be taken to exclude the possibility of a design with two storeys—there again the explanation may lie in the interruption of the building program. Several indications, individually slight, when taken together favour the two-storey design.

(1) The careful workmanship and generous width of the beddings for the outer walls.

(2) The comparatively close spacing of the columns. In large Athenian colonnades of a single storey the outer columns are spaced at intervals approximating 3.00 m.: e. g., Stoa of Zeus (3.018 m.); Middle Stoa in the Agora (3.04 m.). Outer colonnades that certainly carried a second storey are spaced well under 3.00 m.: e. g., East Stoa of the Asklepieion (2.75-2.76 m.); Stoa of Eumenes (2.451 m.); Stoa of Attalos (2.423 m.).

(3) The unusual width and depth of the bedding for the inner wall in the part adjacent to the northwest end wall of the building may be due to an intention to insert a stairway at that point.

(4) The extraordinary breadth of the terrace in front of the building suggests

<sup>8</sup> *Délos*, VII, 1, pp. 62, 162 f.

<sup>9</sup> In the South Stoa of the Corinthian Agora an open space of slightly over 10 m. between the middle and back walls was divided into two rows of rooms arranged in pairs. The rooms of each pair had a doorway between them and were entered only through a doorway which opened on the porch. *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 555 ff.; XXXIX, 1935, pp. 53 ff.

that it was intended to accommodate large numbers of people, and a second storey would have doubled the floor space.

It has been hinted repeatedly above that the West Stoa was never completed. The evidence may be briefly reviewed.

(1) The complete absence of any material from the superstructure, not only in the area of the Stoa but also among the blocks re-used in the later periods of the near-by city wall, though it cannot be counted conclusive in view of the very exposed position, must nevertheless be regarded as strong negative evidence. Particularly telling is the lack of marble working chips behind the front foundations.

(2) The preparations of the bedding for the inner wall, extremely sketchy when compared with the well-worked outer beddings, may best be explained as unfinished.

(3) At neither end of the building is there any trace of a bedding for the continuation of the gutter which would have been necessary to carry off the flood of water in time of heavy rain.

(4) The high level of the northwest end of the Middle Terrace would have involved burying the steps of the Stoa over a length of many metres toward its south-east end.

(5) Although more than 375 square metres at the northwest end of the West Terrace were cleared, no trace of a monument was found on it. This would be a very unusual situation in front of any Athenian public building, quite irrespective of its purpose, had that building been in use for any length of time.

(6) A close comparison of the photograph (Fig. 3) and the plan (Pl. XV) of the northwest corner of the West Stoa will suggest that the bedding for the back wall of the stoa was widened toward the inside of the building to receive the city wall which approached the stoa from the north. Not enough clearance has been made at this point to clarify the situation entirely, but it would appear that the city wall, with a width of *ca.* 3.00 m., was so laid that its outer face coincided with the outer face of the foundation for the back wall of the Stoa, while its inner face rested on a newly prepared bedding well inside the original bedding for the Stoa foundation. This procedure is precisely paralleled in the case of the East Stoa B, of the incompleteness of which there can be no question. Had the builders of the city wall found either of the Stoa's completed, they would more probably have left the building intact and reinforced its back wall on the outside.

It would seem likely, therefore, that the construction of the West Stoa had barely gotten beyond the lowest foundations when it was interrupted by the building of the city wall.

#### EAST STOA

To the south of the Assembly Place and at a distance of a stone's throw from it, the central hill of the Pnyx range rises to its greatest height in a smooth-topped ridge



(Pl. XIV, Fig. 1). The comparatively level area of the summit was exploited by the builders of the East Stoa who, as in the case of the West Stoa, placed their structure in such a way as to minimize the amount of rock that had to be cut away and the depth of foundation that had to be built. As observed above, the precise placing of the Stoa was altered slightly soon after the start of work. Although even on this second start construction was not carried far, the scheme of the building can be more completely recovered from the second than from the first set of workings. It will, therefore, be simpler to commence with the second period, i. e., East Stoa B. The remains have been described in some detail in an earlier report and, since little new evidence has been produced by the more recent excavations, the present description will be summary.<sup>10</sup>

Measured on the beddings for its foundations, the Stoa had an over-all length of *ca.* 66.30 m. and breadth of *ca.* 17.50 m. The outer rectangle was divided unevenly by an inner foundation which ran the length of the building. The relative and the absolute widths of the various beddings show clearly that the north, long foundation was intended for a colonnade above steps, the others for walls.

Blocks remain in position only in the back, enclosed part of the building. They have been exposed at three points in the line of the back or south wall and, toward its west end, have been found to stand still to a height of 2.50 m. The material is the local gray limestone laid as irregular ashlar, with quarry to hammer face, with some broaching and with some edges heavily bevelled with the pointed chisel (Figs. 8, 9). Two rows of blocks, the outer being the larger and more regular, make up an

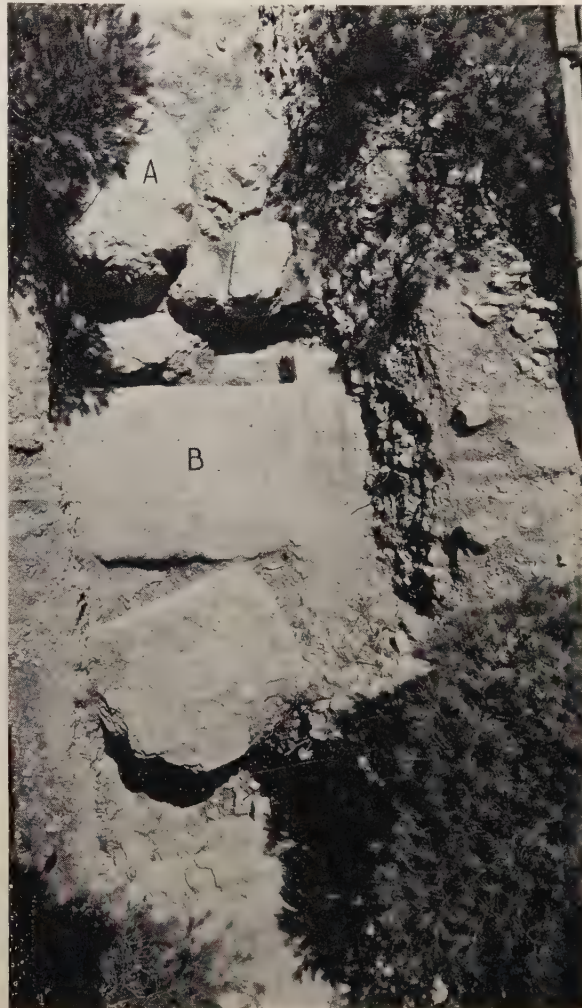


Fig. 8. Foundations for Back Walls of East Stoa A and B, Near Their East Ends, from the North

<sup>10</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 156 ff.

average thickness of *ca.* 1.20 m. In the line of the east end wall and of the eastern part of the inner wall, the foundation cuttings for Stoa A were filled with small, re-used blocks of gray limestone, which, again, form a thickness of 1.20 m. (Fig. 10). For the remainder of the inner wall, for the west end wall, and for the colonnade we have to work with only the beddings cut in the rock. That for the colonnade is *ca.* 2.00 m. wide.



Fig. 9. Back Wall of East Stoa

In the proposed restoration of East Stoa B (Fig. 7) we have placed the back wall, the two end walls, and the interior wall simply in the middle of their respective foundations. Although this is the ideal solution and may not have been adhered to precisely in fact, yet the margin of error is small. On the assumption that the walls were *ca.* 0.70 m. thick, the building would have measured *ca.* 65.80 m. in length between the outer faces of its end walls. The length was probably planned as 200 feet ( $200 \times 0.328 = 65.60$ ). We have again assumed as most probable that the order was Doric and we have used a column with the same diameter as that of the West Stoa, viz., 0.75 m. The width of the triglyph may be restored as about one half that figure, i. e., *ca.* 0.375 m. Again, we may be reasonably certain that in this period the frieze would have had three metopes to the column space. The width of the bedding for the front foundation is that normally employed in Athens beneath a colonnade with stylobate and two steps and justifies the restoration of such a scheme here. The limited and uniform width of the end beddings precludes the return of the steps around the corners and so indicates that the columns were set *in antis*.



In attempting to recover the interaxial spacing of the columns we have to work with the interval between the axes of the outermost triglyphs. A close approximation to this is given by subtracting from the total length of the building the width of two half triglyphs:  $65.80 - (2 \times 0.1875 \text{ m.}) = 65.425 \text{ m.}$  For fixing the length of the interaxial space, several clues are at hand. Since the East Stoa had approximately



Fig. 10. East End of East Stoas A and B, from the Northeast

- A, Northeast Corner of East Stoa A
- B, Southeast Corner of East Stoa B
- C, Northeast Corner of Enclosed Part of East Stoa B

the same width and the same scheme as the West Stoa, its column spacing was also probably closely similar, i. e., close to 2.686 m. The spacing must have been such, moreover, as to permit of triglyphs and metopes which could be combined to produce a frieze of the right length for the end of the building. A third, though more indirect, hint is given by the desirability of employing in the restoration of East Stoa B a column spacing and a scheme of triglyphs and metopes which could be used also for the restoration of East Stoa A.



A process of elimination will show that the conditions noted above may be met on the assumption that the colonnade was planned to have 22 columns *in antis* with 23 spaces and an interaxial spacing of  $\frac{65.425 \text{ m.}}{23} = 2.845 \text{ m.}$  Granted that the triglyph was *ca.* 0.375 m. wide, the width of the metope ( $x$ ), from the formula  $(3 \times 0.375) + 3x = 2.845$ , may be fixed as *ca.* 0.573 m. A frieze comprising 18 such triglyphs and 17 such metopes will be 16.491 m. long. The sum of this figure and the interval between the base of the column and the face of the stylobate, say 0.03 m., will be approximately the width of the building between the edge of its stylobate and the outer face of its back wall:  $16.491 \text{ m.} + 0.03 \text{ m.} = 16.521 \text{ m.}$  In front of this are to be restored two steps of suitable width, say 0.32 m. Such a restoration will permit the walls of the building and the foundations of its colonnade to fit neatly into their respective beddings. And, as we shall see below, a frieze made up of triglyphs and metopes of the same width as those used here will assure a satisfactory width for East Stoa A.

The problem about additional interior supports is very much the same in the East Stoa as in the West Stoa with the difference that the greater width of the enclosed room in the East Stoa, *ca.* 9.62 m. as compared with 9.09 m., makes still more probable the intention to insert either a row of interior columns, or, still more likely, a series of cross-walls forming rooms. Although the east end of the East Stoa has been stripped for a length of 16 m., no trace has been found of such supports. Their absence may well be due to the incompleteness of the whole project.

As to the question of a second storey, the evidence again is inconclusive. It is worth noting, however, that the foundations for the walls of the East Stoa are markedly narrower and of less substantial construction than those of the West Stoa. This might be taken to suggest that the walls of the East Stoa were not to be carried so high.

We may now turn back for a moment to the first beginning of the East Stoa, i. e., to East Stoa A (Pl. XVI). Its remains lie directly beneath those of the second attempt. The change in placement was effected by revolving the plan counterclockwise some  $12^\circ$ . The remains of Stoa A are even scantier than those of Stoa B, and it is clear that construction had been interrupted at an earlier stage in the first than in the second instance. Since the change in placement would seem to have been suggested by outside considerations, there is no reason to suppose any radical difference in the planning of the two buildings. Actually the beddings will permit the two stoas to have been of exactly equal length, but the earlier version was narrower than the second. No trace has appeared of an interior foundation, and it would seem that work was suspended before this stage was reached.

The remains of East Stoa A consist of a clean-cut bedding, 3.08 m. wide, in the line of its front, and southward returns at the east and the west ends, 3.20 m. and 3.30 m. wide respectively. The more recent excavations have exposed a short length

of foundation that would seem certainly to have been for the back wall of the Stoa, near its eastern end (Pl. XVI, Fig. 8). The part examined is only 2 m. long, 1 m. high, and was probably intended to be underground. It is built of quite irregular masses of the local limestone, two blocks or even a single block forming the total thickness of 1.00 m.

The great width of the beddings for the front and ends of this building is remarkable and is probably to be explained on the supposition that a gutter, like that of the West Stoa, was to be carried along the front of the building and to be returned across either end. It is to be noted that the width of the bedding for the front of East Stoa A is 3.08 m., i. e., 0.33 m. more than the width of the front bedding for the West Stoa, and this difference would just provide for the additional step which may be restored in East Stoa A as in East Stoa B. No pits for clean-out basins appear in the bedding for East Stoa A, but these might well have been added had construction continued.

With units of the same width as those used in East Stoa B, a frieze of 16 triglyphs and 15 metopes may be restored across the end of East Stoa A. The length of this frieze will be 14.595 m., and the width of the stoa measured from the face of its stylobate to the outer face of its back wall, *ca.* 14.625 m., i. e., 1.896 m. less than that of East Stoa B. With such an arrangement the back wall, colonnade, steps and gutter may be restored in satisfactory relation to their beddings.

In the absence of any trace of interior supports the restoration of such must be highly conjectural. On the restored plan, Fig. 7, an inner wall on the long axis is suggested so as to give a porch of the same depth as that attested for East Stoa B and so as to give approximately the same relation in width between porch and back part as that intended for the West Stoa.

One would gladly know the reason behind the decision to alter the placement of the Stoa, i. e., to abandon East Stoa A and begin East Stoa B. The change meant the loss of a good many days of labor. The West Stoa and East Stoa A, moreover, would appear to have been placed in relation to one another and to have been laid out at one and the same time. The relation between the West Stoa and East Stoa B, when they were viewed from the front, would not have seemed so happy. The alteration may have been occasioned by considerations of economy, for, in view of the peculiar contours of the rock, it may have been easier to arrange a terrace of the necessary width in front of East Stoa B than East Stoa A.

Up to this point the incompleteness of East Stoa B has been assumed rather than demonstrated. The evidence, however, is ample: the complete absence of any blocks from the superstructure either *in situ* or re-used in the later fortification walls; the sketchy and apparently unfinished state of the bedding for the inner long wall; the lack of any provision for interior supports in the back part of the building; the incompleteness of quarrying operations on the terrace in front of the east end of the



building; the failure to level the rock for a terrace in front of its west end. The occasion for the abandonment of this building was unquestionably the same as in the case of the West Stoa: the more urgent need of a fortification wall which was laid on top of the newly built foundations.

Toward the eastern end of the area occupied by the East Stoa are tenuous remains of two, possibly three structures which may be of the time of the Stoa.<sup>11</sup> The most substantial surviving part is a foundation bedding cut in the living rock parallel to the inner edge of the front foundation of East Stoa A (Pl. XVI, Fig. 10). The bedding may be traced for a length of 9.25 m. It is marked by a series of seven dowel holes, although no block remains in position. No return of this bedding is preserved at either end. The lesser remains consist of foundations in part cut from the rock, in part built up of broken stone; they served for either two small independent buildings or for various rooms of one building. All these foundations show careless workmanship and were apparently intended for slight, perhaps temporary structures. As to their purpose, there is little evidence even for conjecture. But it may be suggested that they carried tool houses or a watchman's shelter necessary in the construction of the Stoa.<sup>12</sup>

#### PROPYLON

Beyond the west end of East Stoa B scanty traces remain of a large rectangular foundation. The complete clearing and study of the remains were precluded by a much-used modern pathway which runs diagonally across its area and by the trees. More evidence for its reconstruction and use might also be gotten by deeper clearing to the west and south.

The north front of the foundation was aligned with the front of East Stoa B; toward the south its foundation beddings are buried beneath a mass of masonry belonging to the city wall, but they would seem to have extended to the line of the back of the Stoa. The beddings of the two structures are separated by an interval of 1.75 m. The east to west width of the bedding for the monument may be measured as *ca.* 13.00 m.; its length from north to south may be taken as equal to the width of the bedding for the Stoa, i. e., *ca.* 17.50 m.

Throughout the area of the monument the bedrock was dressed to receive a massive, i. e., continuous foundation. The photograph (Fig. 11) and the levels marked on the plan (Pl. XVI) will show that the bedrock here sloped steeply down toward the west and south, so that the beddings had to be cut in an irregular, stepped fashion. Of material certainly attributable to the monument there remain in place only a small block of gray limestone at the northwest corner and a half dozen large blocks of conglomerate in the east central part.

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed description cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 163 f.

<sup>12</sup> Similar, though better-preserved foundations, have come to light within the main foundations for the Odeion in the Athenian Agora (not yet published).

The foundations themselves afford little clue to the form of the structure which they carried. One hint, however, is to be noted. The line of the north edge of the bedding is drawn forward at the northwest corner by *ca.* 1.50 m. This can only mean that the monument was approached from the north by steps and that the number of steps increased from the east toward the west in order to make good the falling gradient. The west edge of the bedding is parallel to the axis of the monument so that no such arrangement existed there; for the south edge the evidence is not available,



Fig. 11. Bedding for Propylon (?) from Northwest. The Arrows Mark the Northeast and Northwest Corners

although it would seem that the change in level between the southeast and southwest corners was less violent so that steps on that side might not have required so marked a distortion of the plan.

The monument was obviously placed with respect to East Stoa B. Hence work on it must have begun after the change in the orientation of the East Stoa. There is no reason to doubt that the construction of the monument was halted, like that of the Stoa, by the laying of the city wall. These considerations, coupled with the perfect alignment of the two buildings, may be taken to prove that they were parts of one and the same building program.

The evidence for the identification of the monument is chiefly indirect. Its orientation and massive foundation are against its having been intended as a temple. Its proximity to the Stoa and the approach from the short north side rule out its



identification as an altar. The size of its foundation is excessive for any normal sculptured monument. The strong probability that the structure formed part of the same building program as the stoas would also weigh against any of the above possibilities.

Of the very limited number of possible identifications that remain for such a monument, the most likely is that the structure was to be a propylon or ornamental entrance to the area on which the stoas faced.<sup>13</sup> Such a gateway would have been desirable at this point on both aesthetic and practical grounds. Its north front would undoubtedly have been gabled and so would have introduced an agreeable variety into the long expanse of sloping roofs which the stoas would have presented to the terraces and to the Assembly Place. It would probably have been made to stand out prominently by the use of an order of larger scale than those of the Stoas. In a practical way it would have served as the most convenient approach to the area in front of the Stoas and to the Assembly Place for all the citizens of southern Athens. They would naturally then, as now, have left the main roadway (the Road through Koile?) in the saddle between the central Pnyx Hill and the Museum and would have taken a path that followed closely the contours of the hillside to the site of the monument in question. That such a line of traffic existed in antiquity is proven by the inclusion of gateways at the southwest corner of the monument in successive periods of the city wall which was subsequently carried over the foundations of stoas and monument. A modern road follows the same course.

Another bit of evidence that favours the identification of the monument as a propylon is afforded by an extensive cutting begun, but never finished, near the western end of the scarp that bounds the south side of the Middle Terrace (Fig. 12). Over an area *ca.*  $4.00 \times 10.60$  m. the rough rock had begun to be dressed down to a level *ca.* 1.15 m. above that of the Middle Terrace. The face of the scarp that separated this newly dressed area from the Middle Terrace was cut clean and true; subsequently, perhaps much later, a flight of three short steps was cut in the scarp. This stairway, though too small to be associated with the original design of the major cutting, suggests its purpose, viz., that it was the beginning of a broad flight of stairs leading from the Middle Terrace to something above. The scale of the undertaking and its incompleteness make probable its attribution to the same building program as the stoas. We may therefore conjecture that the stairway was intended to lead to a terrace in front of the East Stoa. It will be seen from the elevations on Pl. XVI that the dressed floor into which the stairway would have been cut lay at a level just midway between that of the Middle Terrace and the terrace-to-be in front of the East Stoa. Each half of the difference in level might have been negotiated by a flight of five steps of suitable height (*ca.* 0.23 m.), with a broad platform between.

<sup>13</sup> This identification was first proposed by Dorothy Burr Thompson.

Had the stairway been intended to serve only a terrace in front of the East Stoa, it would undoubtedly have been placed near the middle of that terrace. It would seem likely instead that the stairs were to have led both to that terrace and to our "propylon." Significant for this connection is the close correspondence in width between the stairway and any building that may have rested on the foundation in question; and, further, the fact that the five steps needed to adjust the difference in level between the unfinished platform for the conjectural stairway and the floor of the "propylon" would



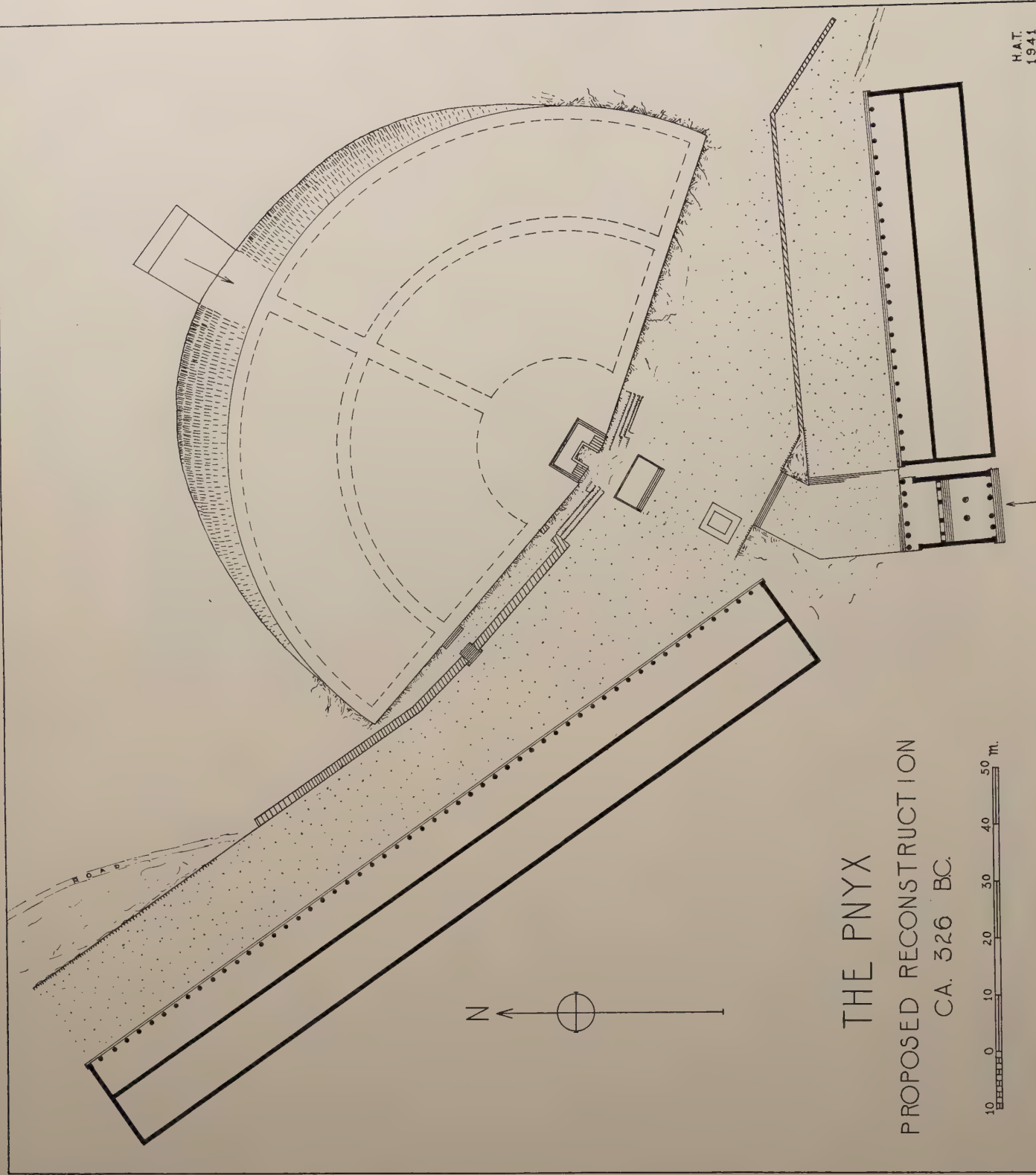
Fig. 12. Middle Terrace from the Northwest

- |                          |                                  |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| A, Bema                  | D, Northwest Corner of East Stoa |
| B, Altar (?)             | E, Northeast Corner of West Stoa |
| C, Cutting for Stair (?) |                                  |

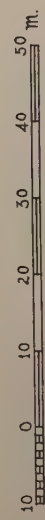
satisfactorily account for the extension of the foundation at the northwest corner of the "propylon." We may suppose that the floor of the "propylon" lay at the same level as the terrace in front of the East Stoa and that the angle between the two was filled by a sloping earth floor in such a way that one coming from the south through the "propylon" might either have continued straight ahead to the Middle Terrace or turned right to the terrace in front of the East Stoa.<sup>14</sup>

For the detailed restoration of the propylon there is no specific evidence available. An adaptation of the scheme of the Mnesiclean Propylaia would be suitable in both plan and elevation and such has been used in the restoration sketch, Fig. 13. It must be emphasized, however, that the details of the design are very largely conjectural.

<sup>14</sup> At the inner front of the Propylaia on the Acropolis a similar arrangement was used to meet a similar, though less marked, difference of levels. Cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 454, fig. 7.



THE PNYX  
PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION  
CA. 326 BC.





## TERRACES

The broad promenade on which the West Stoa faced has been labelled the West Terrace. Toward either end the level area was gained by cutting down the living rock, in the mid part by an earth filling which had to be supported along its front edge by a stone wall. The remains of this supporting wall have been explored only in the area adjacent to the Assembly Place and they have been described in detail in the report on the Assembly Place.<sup>15</sup> Three colossal and roughly hewn blocks of the native limestone still stand in place (Fig. 14), and elsewhere the dressed bedding is



Fig. 14. Retaining Wall of West Terrace from Northeast

clearly defined. Communications between the Terrace and the Assembly Place were afforded by a stairway set into the terrace wall and another in the shoulder of the scarp that here formed the front of the auditorium.

The terrace in front of the West Stoa was continued toward the southeast by another broad level area, formed by boldly cutting down the shoulder of the hill; this we may call the Middle Terrace (Fig. 12).<sup>16</sup> The area is now bounded on the north by the cutting for the front of the Assembly Place of the Third Period, on the south by the vertical scarp, as much as 2.75 m. high, left by the cutting for the terrace. Although this terrace has not been fully cleared toward the southeast, it would seem to have extended to a point approximately opposite the southeast corner of the Assembly Place of the Third Period. In this area the terrace dies out: its floor slopes up,

<sup>15</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 155 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 165, fig. 14.

the dressing becomes rough and spasmodic. The northwestern part of the terrace is clearly marked as its most popular and most used part by the presence there of beddings for five large monuments.<sup>17</sup>

The Middle Terrace would seem to have been designed without regard for either the East or the West Stoa. The lack of co-ordination in plan is evident from a glance at Pls. XIV and XVI. Equally significant is the discrepancy in levels. The Middle Terrace, even in its lower northwest part, lies over 1.15 m. above the level of the bottom of the euthynteria of the West Stoa, i. e., well above the level even of its stylobate,—a most unsatisfactory situation. Its relations with the East Stoa were still less happy, for there the terrace lay *ca.* 2.00 m. below the level of the bottom of the euthynteria of Stoa A, over 2.00 m. below that of Stoa B. Hence it may be taken as certain that the Middle Terrace is not part of the same program as the Stoas. Is the Terrace earlier or later? Several considerations suggest that the Terrace is earlier than the Stoas. In the first place one might logically assume that this part of the hilltop, closely adjacent to the Assembly Place of all periods, had been levelled before the remoter area represented by the greater part of the West Terrace. Secondly, the scarp that bounds the Middle Terrace toward the southwest would seem to have been cut down in its most southeasterly part by the foundation bedding of East Stoa A. To attempt to fix the date of the Middle Terrace more closely would be difficult, perhaps rash. It may be surmised, however, that the Terrace was cut by those who arranged the Second Period of the Assembly Place (404/3 B.C.) and that much of the building stone for that construction was cut here.

On the shoulder of the hilltop between the southeast corner of the Assembly Place and the East Stoa are scanty remains of two walls, intended to support an East Terrace (Pl. XVI).<sup>18</sup> The upper, slighter wall seems obviously to have been the earlier and to have been replaced by the heavier wall. The style in which the few surviving blocks of the latter wall are worked closely resembles that of the back foundation wall of East Stoa B and suggests their contemporaneity. The slighter wall might then be contemporary with the cutting of the Middle Terrace. But this is very problematical. In the restoration sketch (Fig. 13) it is suggested that the architect of East Stoa B would have used the heavier of the two walls to support the eastern part of the terrace which he undoubtedly planned, but never completed, immediately in front of the Stoa.

The projected terrace in front of the East Stoa had been barely begun when the entire building program was abandoned. A certain amount of rock cutting had been done in front of the east end of the Stoa, but even here the marks of unfinished quarrying are still apparent (Pl. XVI). On the restoration sketch (Fig. 13) it has been assumed that the width of this terrace would have been fixed in the same way

<sup>17</sup> These are described in detail in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>18</sup> For a detailed account and photograph cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 164 f., fig. 13.



as that in front of the West Stoa, i. e., as equal to the width of the floor of the Stoa. Such an arrangement would have involved the cutting down of a certain amount of rock in front of the western as well as in front of the eastern end of the Stoa and the erection of a retaining wall with a maximum height of *ca.* 2.00 m. in front of the mid part of the building. As pointed out in the discussion of the Propylon, access to this terrace from both the Propylon and the Middle Terrace was probably gained at its western end.

#### DATE OF THE STOAS

There can be no question that the two stoas were parts of one and the same building program. This is shown by their similarity in scheme, by their relation to one another and to the Assembly Place, and by the fact that work on both was ended by the same circumstance, viz., the necessity for fortifications on the hilltop.

For the absolute date of the buildings little help is to be gotten from their meagre architectural remains. Most helpful are the traces of channel dowels in the structure that intervened between Stoas A and B, and the cuttings for  $\square$  clamps in the re-used blocks in the foundations of East Stoa B. Clamps and dowels of these types were probably not used in Athens before the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.<sup>19</sup> Consequently the building program may be put as late as that time.

Further help in dating may be gotten from the pottery associated with the construction. Potsherds were found in a small cistern which was put out of use and filled in by those who laid the northwest foundation of the West Stoa; in the footing trenches of the surviving foundations for the front of the West Stoa; in contemporary filling brought in to level the hilltop in the mid part of the front of the same building; and in undisturbed packing thrown into the foundation trenches of East Stoa A alongside the surviving foundation blocks of East Stoa B. The material from these various places is uniform in date and may be dated in the middle and third quarter of the fourth century B.C. Representative pieces from contemporary filling near the middle of the front foundation of the West Stoa are illustrated in Fig. 15, *a*, *b*, and *c*.

**a.** Fragment of a Red-figured Lid.

Maximum dimension, 0.10 m. There remains a part of the design around the knob, and a part of a woman's head facing a griffin.

**b.** Fragment of a Red-figured Lid.

Maximum dimension, 0.105 m. A rim piece. On the pendent rim, a band of egg-and-dot. On top, a woman seated, facing a figure who

comes from the left bearing a box and a round-bottomed basket (?). From each of the bearer's hands hangs a long ribbon.

**c.** Terracotta Lamp.

Height, 0.04 m.; diameter, 0.07 m. Rear part and tip of nozzle broken away. On the shoulder, a pierced knob. Black glaze on the inside and in a band around the rim.

For the motives and style of the red-figured pieces, pertinent parallels may be found, *inter alia*, among the latest material from the houses of Olynthos that were

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 102 f.



abandoned in 348 B.C.<sup>20</sup> The lamp is a variant of Broneer's Type VII,<sup>21</sup> The same shape and distribution of glaze are found among the latest lamps from Olynthos.<sup>22</sup> But the pierced knob does not occur on the published lamps from that site. This



Fig. 15. Pottery Associated with West Stoa (a, b, c) and Compartment Wall (d, *infra*, p. 334)

feature is common, however, on the earliest lamps from Alexandria, which have much the same shape.<sup>23</sup> A date in the latter part of the third quarter of the fourth century is thus indicated.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Olynthus*, V, pls. 110-112.

<sup>21</sup> *Corinth*, IV, ii, pp. 45 f.

<sup>22</sup> *Olynthus*, II, p. 143, nos. 89, 90, fig. 307; V, p. 282, nos. 125-133, pl. 201.

<sup>23</sup> Breccia, *Necropoli di Sciatbi*, pp. 76 ff., pl. LVII, 125, 126. Cf. also the lamps from Hellenistic groups A and B from the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 460 f.

Since the pottery from the various points around the two stoas is considerable in bulk and strikingly consistent in character, it proves that the building program was begun certainly not before the third quarter of the fourth century and probably not long, if at all, after.<sup>24</sup>

#### PURPOSE OF THE STOAS

The evidence for the intended purpose of the Stoa is at first sight meagre. There appears to be no reference to them in inscriptions or in the ancient authors, nor was such mention likely in view of their incompleteness. We must, therefore, be content with the evidence to be drawn from the scheme of the buildings and from their relation to one another and to their neighbours.

It was suggested in the earlier publication that the East Stoa, then referred to as the Long Stoa, was to be associated with the sanctuary of which traces were found in front of the Stoa and which was then identified as the Thesmophorion.<sup>25</sup> But the more thorough exploration of the area has failed to reveal any additional remains of the sanctuary; no trace, for instance, of the *megara* or underground chambers which were the most characteristic known feature of the Thesmophorion. The late date of the votive offerings (late fourth and third centuries B.C.) also militates against their association with the Thesmophorion, which certainly existed in the fifth century if not before. Hence, though there can be no question of the existence of a sanctuary on the hilltop in front of the east end of the East Stoa, its identification with the Thesmophorion must now be counted very dubious.<sup>26</sup> And since the votives postdate the abandonment of the East Stoa there is no longer any cogent evidence for associating sanctuary and stoa.

Before the plan of the West Stoa and its relation to the fortification wall had been elucidated, that building was tentatively identified as an arsenal.<sup>27</sup> But this identification is vitiated by the radical difference in plan between the Stoa and known arsenals such as the closely contemporary Arsenal of Philo in the Peiraeus and those of Pergamon. Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that at the time when the Stoa was begun the top of the Pnyx Hill would have been counted a convenient base of military operations.

That the two stoas were designed for the same or a similar purpose is now clear from their essential identity in plan. The contours of the hilltop made it more eco-

<sup>24</sup> The East Stoa had been dated in the first century after Christ in the earlier publication (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 168 f.) on the evidence of pottery found in association with it. The subsequent and more thorough exploration has shown that the earth fillings from which that pottery was recovered were made long after the abandonment of the construction of the building.

<sup>25</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 182 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Professor Oscar Broneer has recently suggested that the Thesmophorion shared with the Eleusinion a site on the north slope of the Acropolis. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 250 ff.

<sup>27</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 166 (L. T. Shoe). The undersigned, and not Miss Shoe, were indiscreet.

nomical to cover the required space with two buildings rather than one and aesthetic considerations may also have suggested the division. The plan of the buildings would be more helpful for the present problem if we were certain how the back part of each building was intended to be treated. But, however that may be, a large proportion of the floor space of each building was clearly designed as a promenade where an enormous number of people might have strolled, sheltered from sun and rain.<sup>28</sup> That great throngs were expected is shown further by the very generous width of the terrace in front of the West Stoa. Its width, *ca.* 15.80 m., well over twice that of the terrace associated with the normal stoa in market place or sanctuary, is best paralleled in the Theatre Terrace of Pergamon which accommodated the vast crowds from the Theatre.<sup>29</sup>

At the time when the Stoas were designed there was, so far as we know, only one occasion for great crowds in their vicinity, viz., the meetings of the citizens in the Assembly Place. The general plan shows that the stoas were placed so as to be as conveniently accessible from the Assembly Place as the terrain permitted. The Assembly Place, as already observed, was united to the West Terrace by a stairway. Hence there can be little doubt that the Stoas were originally and primarily intended for the convenience of the citizens attending the Assembly. The spacious terraces would have been popular as promenades before and after meetings, while the roofed porches would have been convenient refuges in case of sudden rain and might often have enabled the Assembly to hold a recess for the duration of a shower rather than to break off its business for the day.

One will recall the passage (V, 9) in which Vitruvius prescribed that colonnades should be built behind the stage of a theatre to provide shelter for the audience at a play in case of rain. Among the examples of such prudent arrangements quoted by Vitruvius is the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens. To the Athenian theatre-goers of Vitruvius' day there were available the colonnade set against the back of the theatre, the porches of the Temples of Dionysos, the Odeion of Pericles, the two-storied Stoa of Eumenes and perhaps also, though Vitruvius did not mention them, the Stoas of Asklepios. A comparison of the plans of the Theatre of Dionysos and its environs with that of the Assembly Place with its projected stoas will demonstrate the essential similarity of their arrangements.

In the case of the Theatre of Dionysos, the first colonnade built expressly for the convenience of its audience was that attached to the scene building. This colonnade was presumably finished, along with the stone theatre itself, by Lykourgos, at a time

<sup>28</sup> The floor space of the porch of the West Stoa would have measured *ca.* 1000 sq. m., that of the East Stoa B *ca.* 350 sq. m.

<sup>29</sup> Stoa of Attalos in Athens, *ca.* 6.10 m.; Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora, *ca.* 5.50 m.; South Stoa in the Corinthian Agora, *ca.* 7.50 m.; Sacred Stoa in Priene, 6.47 m.; Stoa of Athena Polias in Priene, *ca.* 5.00 m.; Theatre Terrace of Pergamon, *ca.* 15 m.



very shortly before work began on the Stoas of the Assembly Place. It is tempting to suppose that the provision of such facilities at the Assembly Place was suggested by the newly completed theatre. That the buildings by the Assembly Place are the later in conception is testified by the difference in scale: the Stoa by the Theatre has the modest dimensions and simple scheme typical of the classical period; the West Stoa on the Pnyx, in its vast size and more elaborate plan, heralds the Hellenistic Age. The West Stoa was probably the first colonnade in Athens to be planned on the colossal scale that was to dominate in the second century B.C.

If we assign the porches of the stoas on the Pnyx to the members of the Assembly, what are we to do with the back parts of the buildings? That all or any considerable proportion of that space should have been required for public offices, archives and the like is altogether improbable in view of the modest provision for such services even in connection with the Council House of the Five Hundred in the Agora. If the buildings be restored in the way that is structurally most satisfactory, i. e., with a series of rooms opening through the inner long wall onto the porch, they will be identical with many stoas that were built around the market places of the Greek cities from the fourth century B.C. onward. The great majority of the rooms in these commercial buildings undoubtedly served as shops. No more probable use suggests itself for the rooms of the Stoas on the Pnyx. The commercial advantage of proximity to crowds so large and so regular is obvious. A few years earlier the author of *Ways and Means* had proposed as one device for increasing the public revenues and beautifying the city that the state should build and rent shops for retail dealers in the Peiraeus and the city (Xenophon, *De vectigalibus*, III, 13). One might well regard the present program as a practical application of such a proposal.

#### REMODELLING OF THE ASSEMBLY PLACE

The discovery of the stoas on the Pnyx raises a serious problem in the history of the Assembly Place proper. On the basis of the earlier exploration, three periods were distinguished in the history of the auditorium. The first, in which the seating floor had the slope of the hillside, was assigned to the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries; the second, which involved a complete reversal in orientation, was attributed to the Thirty Tyrants of 404/3 B.C.; the third, a grandiose restoration and enlargement of the second, was counted not earlier than the beginning of the second century of our era.<sup>30</sup>

The auditorium of the Second Period, which would seem certainly to have been that found in use by the architect of the stoas, was flimsy in construction, feeble in design; it would have been quite overshadowed by the splendid new buildings on the hilltop, although these were undoubtedly subsidiary to it in purpose. One would gladly

<sup>30</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 215 ff.

believe, therefore, that the new program of the fourth century included also a re-modelling of the auditorium.

Several pieces of evidence do, in fact, suggest that the auditorium of the Third Period was part of the same program with the stoas and propylon on the hilltop. The West Stoa, the West Terrace, and the auditorium are related to one another in an organic way that is best explained by regarding them as contemporary elements of one design. This is most clearly shown by the fact that the retaining wall of the West Terrace through much of its length is parallel to the front of the auditorium and by the perfect correspondence between the stairways in the retaining wall and in the



Fig. 16. Retaining Wall of Assembly Place from Northeast

shoulder of the scarp at the front of the auditorium. Contemporaneity is suggested also by the similarity in the masonry of the back wall of the East Stoa (so far as it has been exposed),<sup>31</sup> of the retaining walls of the West<sup>32</sup> and East<sup>33</sup> Terraces, and of the great curved retaining wall of the auditorium.<sup>34</sup> All four walls are built of the local limestone; in all, the coursing tends to be horizontal but is not rigidly so; the individual joints with rare exceptions are either perfectly horizontal or vertical; the faces of the blocks are heavily and irregularly bossed, but their edges are not drafted; in the case of the great retaining wall of the auditorium and the back wall of the East Stoa, the faces of the blocks are striated with long furrows left by the pointed chisel with which the final trimming was done. Equally striking is the similarity between the pottery, lamps, loom-weights, figurines, etc., found in association with the stoas and the corresponding material from the greater part of the earth filling

<sup>31</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 160 f., figs. 10, 11.

<sup>32</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 167, fig. 42.

<sup>33</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 164, fig. 13.

<sup>34</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 144 ff., figs. 26-29.



of the auditorium of the Third Period. In both cases the material is chiefly of the late fifth and first half of the fourth century, but it does unquestionably extend into the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>35</sup>

The chief arguments advanced in an earlier study for assigning the auditorium of the Third Period to the second century after Christ were the discovery of pottery of the Roman period behind the great curved retaining wall and the approximation in style between that wall and Athenian buildings of the Hadrianic period.<sup>36</sup> It is to be emphasized, however, that the late pottery was found in limited areas, directly behind the great retaining wall and among the masses of broken stone banked against the inner face of that wall. The late material may have reached that position in the course of a completion or extension or repair of the retaining wall, conceivably in consequence of the removal of stones from the wall and the filling behind it. As for the style of the great wall, the comparison with the newly exposed masonry on the hilltop above would appear to be more cogent than with the Hadrianic walls.

The balance of evidence would thus now favour for the Third Period of the auditorium, or at any rate for its design, a date in the fourth century before Christ rather than in the second century after Christ. A final decision should be deferred until the stratification behind the great retaining wall can be re-examined and the masonry of the various walls compared more closely on the spot.

#### THE ALTAR (?) ON THE MIDDLE TERRACE

On the north shoulder of the Middle Terrace, directly above the bema of the auditorium of the Third Period, may be seen a foundation bedding cut from the living rock (Pls. XIV, XVI, Fig. 12). The dressed surface measures  $8.90 \times ca. 6.00$  m. in outline, but is broken by an island *ca.* 1.80 m. wide toward the northeast side. No blocks remain in place. The bedding lies on the axis of the bema and is approached from the top of the bema over an open, sloping area. This passageway is flanked to north and south by three ranges of rock-cut benches; on the north the first bench was kept well back from the front of the auditorium to leave room for the continuation of the corridor that ran between the front of the auditorium and the retaining wall of the West Terrace.

In an earlier article it was suggested that this bedding might have supported seats of honour, a *proedria*.<sup>37</sup> In the light of the new discoveries on the hilltop a more probable identification may now be proposed. The bedding has dimensions and plan appropriate to a monumental altar which would have faced toward the auditorium

<sup>35</sup> The small objects and the terracotta figurines have been studied by Gladys R. Davidson and by Dorothy Burr Thompson; they will appear in *Hesperia*, Supplement VII. The red-figured pottery is now under consideration by Lucy Talcott. I am grateful to all three scholars for their opinions on this problem.

<sup>36</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 180 ff.

<sup>37</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 163 f.

in a northeasterly direction, and would have had steps on its southwest flank. Placed thus, the altar would have been readily accessible from the bema, sacrifices on its top would have been made in full view of the entire audience, and the structure would have served as a focal point for the whole scheme of auditorium, stoas, and propylon.<sup>38</sup>

#### AUTHORSHIP OF THE BUILDING PROGRAM

Now that the scheme, the date and the purpose of the building program on the Pnyx have been fixed with fair precision, one is tempted to search out its author. A date in the latter part of the third quarter of the fourth century, which is shown by the internal evidence adduced above to be the most probable, would make the beginning of the work fall within the regime of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.). Nor could a more likely author be found. The program on the Pnyx is another expression of the spirit evident behind the public work certainly completed or initiated by Lykourgos: the Theatre of Dionysos, the Panathenaic Stadium, the Shipheds and the Arsenal in the Peiraeus, the Gymnasium in the Lyceum. All were intended for the convenience and well-being of the citizens at large and at the same time for the beautification of the city; all breathed confidence in the abiding greatness of Athens and of the Athenian democratic system.

The attribution to Lykourgos is strengthened by a review of Athenian history in the generation after his death. That a program so costly should have been initiated in the midst of the "Lamian War" (323-322 B.C.) is scarcely conceivable. The spirit of the project was quite inconsistent with the constitutional reform of 322/1 B.C., which drastically reduced the number of citizens and curbed many democratic powers. Nor does it agree any better with the temper of Demetrios of Phaleron whose attitude toward democratic government had been moulded by Aristotle and Theophrastus, whose realism could have allowed him little hope for any substantial revival of Athenian freedom and whose economical spirit in public finance prompted him to

<sup>38</sup> The dimensions of the bedding show a striking correspondence with those of the marble altar in the Athenian Agora to the east of the Metroön (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 140 ff.). The altar in the Agora measured  $8.76 \times 5.43$  m. on its lowest step. The disposition of its superstructure, moreover, would agree with the plan of the bedding on the Pnyx. The four marble steps of the Agora altar are cut two to the block; one fragmentary but still enormous marble orthostate remains from the altar proper. This megalithic tendency is reminiscent of the retaining walls of the Auditorium of the Third Period. The Agora altar has been dated to the latter part of the fourth century before Christ (R. Stillwell, *loc. cit.*; L. Shoe, *Greek Mouldings*, Index s. v. Athens, Agora Excavations, Altar of the Heudanemoi); but there is ample evidence (mason's marks, double setting lines, and duplicate dowel holes) to show that it was moved to its present position from elsewhere, at a time not earlier than the advanced Hellenistic period (among the masons' marks is an alpha with broken bar). One is tempted to think that this altar originally stood on the Pnyx, and that, when the Pnyx had been practically abandoned by the Assembly, it was moved down to the Agora, again to stand in the midst of public life in front of the Metroön and at the edge of the Orchestra.



censure Pericles' lavish expenditure on the Propylaia.<sup>39</sup> The terrible confusion, political, military, and financial, that filled the forty-six years subsequent to the coming of Demetrios Poliorketes in 307 B.C. would alone have precluded any such grand program within that period.

If Lykourgos be recognized as the most probable author of the project, the beginning of construction may be assigned tentatively to the closing years of his active career, i. e., to the period 330-326 B.C. By that time the heavy work would seem to have been well advanced, if not already completed, on the Theatre, Stadium, and Arsenal so that a large force of quarrymen and masons would have been free and eager for the work on the Pnyx. In the breadth of its conception, as also in the sheer mass of its fabric, this program might well be counted the greatest of Lykourgos' public works, a fitting climax to his career and a splendid, if pathetic expression of his faith in Athens.

## II. THE CITY WALLS

### INTRODUCTION

In Athens, where so many of the more glorious monuments of antiquity are preserved, fortifications have suffered more disastrously than in other places of similar consequence.<sup>40</sup> Various early travelers found traces of the walls sufficient to give them the plan, but it is probable that most of what they saw was built a thousand years and more after Themistocles. In the Kerameikos, by chance, the walls of many periods are well preserved, and stand now to a good height. In almost every other part, the very restorations which have increased the height of the walls in the Kerameikos seem time and again to have razed the fortifications to the foundations, so that now, in the few places where the walls can be seen, we seldom find more than a single course of blocks from classical construction, and often the mortar and rubble of early Christian or Byzantine builders fills the rock-cut bedding of the original construction.

The time is fast passing when it is possible to examine the circuit walls of Athens by scientific excavation, and to determine the exact course and the history of the wall in its various periods. Although even now occasional accidental finds of well-preserved stretches are made, the growing modern city has spread over and beyond the ancient circuit in all directions, so that for the most part the traces of the walls have either been destroyed or are concealed by large buildings or paved streets.

<sup>39</sup> Cicero, *De officiis*, II, 17, 60.

<sup>40</sup> See Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (ed. 2), pp. 113-165 for a survey of earlier investigations of the city walls; also, especially, Noack, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, pp. 123 ff. and 474 ff.; also, Scranton, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 525-36.

There still remain, however, two general areas where the course of the ancient wall runs through open ground. One of these is in the Public Gardens, northeast of the Olympieion. Here extensive plantings make digging for antiquities a moral impossibility; but after examining the ground one may see that the earth is not often deep over the bedrock, and in the absence of remains of the walls above ground, there would seem but little chance of their preservation below ground. This cannot be accepted too implicitly, however, for in the other area, the region of the Pnyx, the possibility of finding traces of the wall in many places seemed equally remote. Here, on the Hill of the Nymphs, certain remains had long been visible, and on the Museum Hill were other remains somewhat better preserved. These related fragments had been attributed by some scholars to Themistocles, by others to Cleon. On the crest of the Museum slight markings in the rock, at its western end some roughly polygonal blocks, and at the western foot of the range a few isolated blocks might tentatively have been associated with the circuit wall or the Long Walls. But the entire region is now a park and the young forest of ever-growing pine trees makes surveying and the laying out of trenches increasingly difficult.

The account which follows is a report of the excavations in the latter of these two areas, the region of the Pnyx, the results of which are concerned with five major periods of construction: (A) Traces of a group of buildings on the Pnyx, described above by H. A. Thompson. (B) A wall completed along the entire range, called from the manner of its construction "the Compartment Wall." Associated intimately with this is a fortress on the Museum. (C) An extensive modification and repair of the Compartment Wall, called from its very distinctive material "the White Poros Wall." (D) A general restoration of later date known as the "Roman Repair." (This is not the only repair of Roman date by any means, but we refer to the others as "minor Roman repairs.") (E) A thorough-going reconstruction and modernization of the defenses carried out in rubble and mortar which we call "the Mortar Repair." A second, but very late, addition to the wall in one place was also carried out in mortar, but was apparently very limited in scope and may be included with "the latest phases."

During the course of the excavations the opportunity was taken to examine traces of the outer circuit in the immediate neighborhood, with the hope of establishing facts about the Themistoclean wall. A search was also made for possible remains of the Long Walls and of the Phaleric Wall, but it was impossible to examine any of the traces by excavation.

Before we discuss the actual finds, we may say a word about the theatre of operations in its narrower aspect. The "Pnyx," as has been pointed out many times before,<sup>41</sup> includes the three peaks known as the Museum Hill, the Pnyx Hill proper, and the Hill of the Nymphs. These three summits constitute a range, being separated from

<sup>41</sup> Plato, *Kritias*, 112 a; Jane Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, 1890, p. 107.



one another only by depressions or cols. On the east they are loosely connected with the Acropolis by the Areopagus, and on the west they send out spurs toward the Peiraeus. The panorama, Fig. 17, combined with Plate XIV, gives an idea of the topography with which we are dealing (see also Figs. 1, 2, 11, 20, 34, 41, 42).

The actual excavations were carried out in a series of trenches beginning on the northwestern slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs, and continuing to the southwestern slopes of the Hill of the Muses, covering a front almost a kilometre long. In general



Fig. 17. The Hill of the Nymphs, the Pnyx, and the Museum, from the Western Spur of the Pnyx

these trenches, with the walls which they expose, lie on the westward slope of the crest of the range, along the slope remote from the city. More than seventy trenches or pits revealed the essential points of the monuments under study, although some details remain obscure. The excavations began at points along the wall which was already known and indicated on plans such as Judeich's, but new discoveries soon made it necessary to operate in areas where ancient remains had not hitherto been suspected.

#### THE COMPARTMENT WALL

We may now turn to a discussion of the Compartment Wall, the earliest completed wall along the Pnyx ridge. This wall was traced southward from a point on the northwest spur of the Hill of the Nymphs. It was found to pass over the foundations of the West Stoa on the Pnyx, and to cross the unfinished foundations of the East Stoa. In the col between the central Pnyx and the Museum Hill it was broken by a double gate, from which it ascended the ridge of the Museum to the peak. On this stretch are preserved remains of several towers. On the city-ward slope of the summit of the Museum Hill was constructed a wall joining the Compartment Wall to the Themistoclean wall east of the peak, thus enclosing a roughly polygonal area around the peak. The fortress so contrived is built in much the same style as the Compartment Wall elsewhere.

The style of construction of this wall is distinctive, and has suggested the name which we have given it—the Compartment Wall. Facings of ashlar orthostates enclose a mass of rubble and earth packing. The orthostates are laid with two

stretchers alternating with one header; the headers project inward from either side to meet in the middle and form compartments in the core, equal in length to the combined lengths of two stretchers. The width of the wall varies, but is on the average 3.00 m. The most characteristic section is seen at the east end of the East Stoa.<sup>42</sup> Here (Fig. 18) the orthostates are 1.35 m. in length, 0.65 m. in height, and 0.48-



Fig. 18. Compartment Wall above East End of East Stoa B, from the North

0.50 m. in thickness. The blocks are well cut and carefully jointed with a band of anathyrosis about 0.10 m. wide along the outer joint surface. The tops are dressed to receive another course of blocks and a few pry-holes are to be found. The surfaces were sometimes dressed nearly flat, although when the natural cleavage surface was more or less flat it was not worked. At the vertical joints the corners were given a bevel bringing the joint surfaces to an even line; the width of the bevel varies because the surfaces are uneven. The edges along the tops of the blocks may have been so beveled, but they are too much weathered to allow certainty on this point. The stone is a coarse conglomerate.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Part of our description is taken from *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 192.

<sup>43</sup> One of the best parallels for this type of masonry is the section of wall near the theatre at Miletus. See von Gerkan, *Die Stadtmauern, Milet*, II, 3 (1935), p. 109, fig. 60 and fig. 68. The Miletus wall is said to date from about 300 B.C. For other parallels, see Scranton, *Greek Walls* (1941), pp. 181, List D 10 and 182, List D 13.



## THE COMPARTMENT WALL ON THE HILL OF THE NYMPHS

It will be convenient to begin our description of the Compartment Wall with the stretch about 40 m. long which is preserved on the northwest spur of the slope of the Hill of the Nymphs (Fig. 19); this was partially uncovered by Noack<sup>44</sup> in 1906, and



Fig. 19. Compartment Wall on Northwest Spur of Hill of Nymphs, from the North

was briefly described by him. The wall is of irregular thickness, ranging from 2.90 m. to 3.38 m. It was built largely of blocks of conglomerate arranged so as to form two faces, with a filling of broken stones and earth. At one point one of the headers projects *ca.* 0.30 m. in front of the wall, as though for the spring of a tower, but we found no other traces of any tower and the peculiarity may be attributed to carelessness in the laying of the foundation courses. Quantities of re-used materials were employed, ranging from roughly squared building blocks to marble blocks from monument bases. It may be that some of the re-used material dates from later repairs, for as preserved the wall is far more irregularly built here than in most places elsewhere.

<sup>44</sup> Noack, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, pp. 508-9 ff.

The point of attachment of this section to the Themistoclean circuit is probably to be placed some metres northwest of the present end of the bit preserved, on ground since removed by quarrying. Noack, in his investigations of 1906, examined some stretches of the city circuit between the foot of this spur and the Dipylon, and traces of the Themistoclean circuit are even now to be found at the foot of the westward spurs of the range. The topographical considerations which originally suggested the restoration of the circuit which Judeich has accepted still hold, and we have found



Fig. 20. The Hill of the Nymphs, from the Southwest. Arrows Mark Place of Compartment Wall in Upper Left of Picture

nothing to suggest that the outer wall lay as high up on the slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs as the remains we have examined. There are numerous evidences of modern quarrying below our stretch, consisting of drill holes for blasting, which afford sufficient clue to the fate of the circuit wall below.

From the remains of the Compartment Wall still to be seen, its line probably ascended toward the peak of the Hill of the Nymphs without, perhaps, reaching the summit. The gardens and buildings of the Observatory which at present cover the upper part of the hill have made it impossible to search for the wall, if indeed they have not assisted in its destruction (Fig. 20). From this slope the course may have been almost due south. Here, again, modern arrangements conceal any traces which may exist of the wall. But that anything has survived may be doubted, for the present



deep saddle between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx Hill proper is formed by a quarry of some size and of a date probably later than the wall. It consists of a large level area cut out of the solid rock (*supra*, p. 271, Fig. 2). Bounded on the Pnyx side by a vertical scarp of cut bedrock, facing a little west of north, at its eastern extremity it merges with another vertical scarp that extends towards the Assembly Place. On the side of the Hill of the Nymphs it is difficult to ascertain how much quarrying has been done, but it is apparent that some working has been carried on even there. Thus it is evident that whatever natural saddle existed between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx proper has been markedly lowered by the quarrying operation. The fact that all lines of Greek fortification across the Pnyx come to an end on the brow of this vertical scarp indicates that the quarrying was done after the walls had been built, and resulted in their destruction. The date of the operations can be only surmised. Cisterns, which had been partially cut away by the quarrying, but which had previously been filled, are of little help. Only one was left in such a state that we could examine its ancient filling, and the few sherds removed indicate only that the cistern had been filled toward the end of the third century B.C. Thus the quarrying is later than that date. There are no traces of drill marks, so that the work cannot be modern or recent. Most probably it was done during the Roman peace.

#### THE COMPARTMENT WALL ON THE CENTRAL PNYX HILL

Above the edge of the quarry scarp at the north end of the Pnyx proper are some rock cuttings (Pl. XV); most of them belong to houses, but their eastern edge probably marks the line of the Compartment Wall. A well-defined road breaks through the line here (Fig. 21); north of the road the rock is worked in a broad flat area the eastern and southern edges of which are clearly defined, though its western edge is indistinguishable. It could, however, have borne a tower or bastion some 4.20 m. wide, designed to flank a gateway. There is a small cutting which projects southward at the southeastern corner of the area, and this small cutting could have carried a jamb for the gate.

The road itself is interesting; the wheel marks are clearly visible here, and its course can be traced along the Pnyx to the southeast (Pl. XIV) and less clearly westward on the central spur of the Pnyx. A highway to the country would have gone by lower ground rather than over the crest of the ridge, but this was probably the main street of the settlement on the Pnyx and its seaward spur.<sup>45</sup>

The traces of the wall on the southern side of the road are even less distinct. There are numerous cuttings in the rock, but most of them are almost certainly earlier and are to be associated with dwellings. But the bedrock at this point is relatively

<sup>45</sup> Only an incomplete notion of the elaborate extent of the remains of this settlement, preserved in rock cuttings, can be gained from Judeich's plan (*op. cit.*, plan I) or Curtius-Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, Blatt III. With accurate surveys of the region, the original plan might be almost perfectly recovered.

smooth, and the blocks could have been laid directly on the natural surface. There could scarcely have been a large tower, however, for the road bends toward the south in such a way as to indicate that the wall was no wider than the normal three metres. The only immediate defense for the gate must have been the thickening of the wall to the north of the road.

A few metres to the south the wall made a bend toward the southwest. The next traces of it (Pl. XV) are a few blocks of conglomerate lying on almost unworked bedrock, confining masses of small stones and earth. The construction preserved is



Fig. 21. Ancient Road at North End of Pnyx, from the West. A, Wheel Ruts.  
B, Cuttings of White Poros Period

most wretched in appearance, but was nothing more than the bedding for the lowest visible courses of the wall, about 3.00 m. thick. The wall then turns again to the south. The remains at this place are so poorly preserved and the opportunities for investigation are so limited by trees, fences, and roads, that it was not found possible to study the remains in this area thoroughly; but it is possible that a tower stood at the corner, for we found masses of packing outside the line of the wall which may be from the foundations of a tower, although this point remains unsettled.

About 7.00 m. south of this corner, the Compartment Wall evidently met the corner of the foundations which had been prepared for the rear wall of the West Stoa.<sup>46</sup> The original bedding was widened by cuttings along the inner face of the

<sup>46</sup> *Supra*, pp. 272, 280.



original line of stoa wall, carrying the Compartment Wall with a width of 3.00 m. The fortification would seem to have followed the line of the stoa wall throughout its length, along the western brow of the hill. The cuttings for the foundations are few and indistinct. Not only do they cross many earlier cuttings belonging to houses, drains, and the like (*supra*, p. 273, Fig. 3), but in places within the line of the foundations there are rock surfaces which have never been dressed at all. One instance may be cited where a foundation block must have rested partly on a steeply sloping natural ledge, partly on packing in a hollow of the rock; the packing has now disappeared. At no place along the length of the building did we find certain indications of towers for the wall. They must have existed, however, and one might be restored about half way along the building. As will be seen, the interval of the towers on the Museum Hill seems to have been about 75-80 m., which would allow one tower half way between the north end of the Stoa and the tower of the southwestern shoulder of the hill.<sup>47</sup>

The exact disposition of the Compartment Wall between the West Stoa and the southwest shoulder of the hill remains uncertain (Pl. XVI). At the southwestern corner of the Stoa the bedrock is worked outside the line of the building in an undefined area; this and the numerous other worked beddings, many of which were probably prepared in the first place for houses, may possibly have carried the Compartment Wall. Two possibilities, however, may be noted. The first is that the Compartment Wall turned east to follow the line of the south end of the West Stoa, until a point about the middle of the building, turning south again with its rear face along the line of cuttings extending southward from a point 7.80 m. from the southwest corner of the Stoa. This line of cuttings probably belonged originally to a house, and there is a gap of some 0.50 m. between it and the wall of the Stoa. But such a gap could easily have been bridged by a stone set in packing, rather than on dressed rock, or a small postern may have been here. Another possibility is that the Compartment Wall left the southwest corner of the Stoa with only a slight bend to southward, utilizing the slightly worked bedding about 25 m. to the south, opposite the middle of the bedding prepared for the Propylon (*supra*, p. 286). In either case, the line was probably broken by a gate lying opposite the middle of the south side of the bedding for the propylon. The gate is suggested by two cuttings in bedrock lying approximately parallel about 3.90 m. apart, a figure which corresponds approximately with that for the gate at the north end of the hill, although the latter cannot be accurately measured. The southern bedding disappears beneath the mass of masonry

<sup>47</sup> There is a late tower (M6) only about 40 m. south of the dipylon on the road through Koile, and uncertain traces of rock cuttings half way between each pair of towers on the Museum Hill suggest the possibility that the towers of the Compartment Wall may have been spaced about 40 m. apart. The evidence is so slight, however, that we cannot press it to prove that every tower was only 40 m. from its neighbor.

to be associated with a later construction (*infra*, pp. 348-352), but we may assume, with no fear of great error, that the wall continued from here directly to the south-west corner of the East Stoa, where masonry of the Compartment Wall is still to be seen *in situ*. There is every probability that a tower of some sort was located at the corner of the fortification here, protecting the gate, and flanking the curtain to north and east. But various conditions made it impossible to examine this area, so that the nature of the tower must remain unknown until further investigation is possible.

In its course over the rear wall of the East Stoa, the fortification exhibits a curious peculiarity. There is a well-dressed, rock-cut bedding all along the ridge, about 5.00 m. behind the face of the rear foundation of the Stoa at the west end, 4.00 m. at the east end, and extending some 3.20 m. beyond the Stoa to the east. Thence it turns southeast and is lost after a few metres, continuing parallel to the line of the Compartment Wall. This cutting has every indication of having been intended for a fortification, and yet the Compartment Wall itself does not use it, but on the contrary, at the west end of the Stoa, is supported on several courses of stone built against the rock slope below the cutting in question. It is possible that this cutting was originally intended for the Compartment Wall, but that later its width (assuming that the Stoa wall marks the field face) was considered excessive, and the width of the wall was reduced, necessitating the abandonment of the original cutting. There is also, however, a bare possibility that this and some other unexplained cuttings may belong to a still earlier scheme of fortifications that never got beyond the initial stages. In support of this is the superior quality of the cutting, compared to the workmanship certainly associated with the Compartment Wall; against it is the complete lack of any other evidence, and the possibility of explaining it, however unsatisfactorily, as a false move on the part of the Compartment Wall builders.

It is at the eastern end of the Stoa that we see for the first time a well-preserved stretch of the Compartment Wall as it was meant to be seen above ground (Fig. 18). It was from this section that our description of the style of the wall was drawn. Although the blocks here are laid on a perfectly smooth, previously worked bedding and on the foundation blocks of the East Stoa, in one instance a wall block which is less high than the others is laid on a stratum of packing some five centimetres in thickness, to bring its top surface level with the others.

The wall left the Stoa at an angle of  $130^\circ$  (Fig. 22) and was so placed that its outer face fell precisely on the corner of the foundations of the building. In the corner a notch was cut to receive the wall block. From the corner where it leaves the Stoa, the wall proceeds about southeastward. In this stretch there are but few remains of the original construction. Scarcely any blocks remain *in situ*; the little masonry that is left belongs to a later reconstruction. The line can be followed by a few cuttings whereby elevations in the natural rock were removed to form partial beddings for the two faces of the wall. The hollows must have been filled with packing, of which only



a little remains. About 22.00 m. below the Stoa, there was a tower (C1). The junction of the tower and curtain is now marked only by the dressed bedding, but the front wall of the tower still exists in foundation. These foundations consist of re-used blocks of various sorts laid on worked beddings or on packing. The tower measures 6.80 m. in projection and 8.50 m. in width (Fig. 23).



Fig. 22. Southeast Corner of East Stoa with Remains of Compartment Wall and Tower M 4, from the Southeast

Below the tower the curtain formed an angle and continued southward toward the saddle between the Pnyx proper and the Museum. About 30.00 m. below the tower it was possible to examine the wall in one of the most illuminating of all the trenches (Figs. 24, 25, 26). Here an accumulation of earth, six to seven metres deep, had gathered over the wall. In the heart of this filling the wall stood preserved to a height of about 3.00 m. It had been twice rebuilt, and finally repaired in the latest of the important periods we shall notice. The facts concerning the original construction are of some interest. The style again is that observed at the eastern end of the East Stoa. Orthostates of conglomerate formed the two faces. The surfaces

again were sometimes the natural cleavage, or quarry face; sometimes they were carelessly dressed. The vertical edges and the upper edge were beveled. Our exploratory trench was not wide enough to expose more than two stretchers; the existence of headers can only be assumed. The thickness of the wall is about 2.75 m. It rests again partly on dressed bedrock, partly on packing.

Significant again for the earlier history of the Pnyx is the fact that when this



Fig. 23. Southwest Corner of Tower C 1  
from the South

section of the wall was built, an already-existing house was demolished. The outer face of the wall was set through a floor made of pebbles, laid mosaic-wise in cement and ground flat. The mosaic floor was 2.45 m. in width (east to west). It was surrounded by a border of plain cement at least 0.30 m. wide, raised 0.02 m. above the central part of the floor. The room for which the floor was made was probably the dining room of a house of some quality. Most of the debris of the destroyed household had been carried away, but two strata of earth about 0.40 m. thick lay directly on the floor, consisting of crumbled mud brick and working chips from the wall (VIIIa and IXa, Fig. 26). To the rear of the wall were no signs of earlier construction. The earliest accumulation on the native rock seems to be construction debris from the wall (XIb, Xb, Fig. 26). Directly on this lay a series of road levels, each clearly defined by hard-packed surfaces of fine road metal (IXb-VIb, Fig. 26). The road had evidently been estab-

lished immediately after the building of the wall, and rose during a period of two centuries by succeeding deposits of material, probably wash from higher up on the hill. This road perhaps connected the gate to the south with the road already noted as passing along the crest of the hill and issuing from the gate at the northern end.

#### THE DIPYLON ABOVE THE GATES

The next point at which the wall was examined was in the modern road which now passes south of the Church of St. Demetrius, in the saddle between the hills



(Fig. 34). Through this depression an ancient road issued from the city, and, soon after leaving the gate, branched in several directions. One line kept fairly high along the slopes of the Museum Hill, leaving the city through Judeich's Melitean gate. The



Fig. 24. Trench North of St. Demetrius, from the West

other followed the bottom of the gully which leads westward, giving off side streets to the settlements on each neighboring slope. In spite of the fact that this is the road which passes through a pronounced hollow, it is the upper, left-hand branch which was, or which led to, the road through Koile.<sup>48</sup> The lower road is more easily ex-

<sup>48</sup> This follows if we accept Judeich's plausible location of the Melitean Gate. Polemon

amined, and well deserves a few excursive remarks in description. The first traces of it appear some two hundred metres beyond the Dipylon Gate where the bedrock has been washed clear of earth. From this point almost as far as the line of the

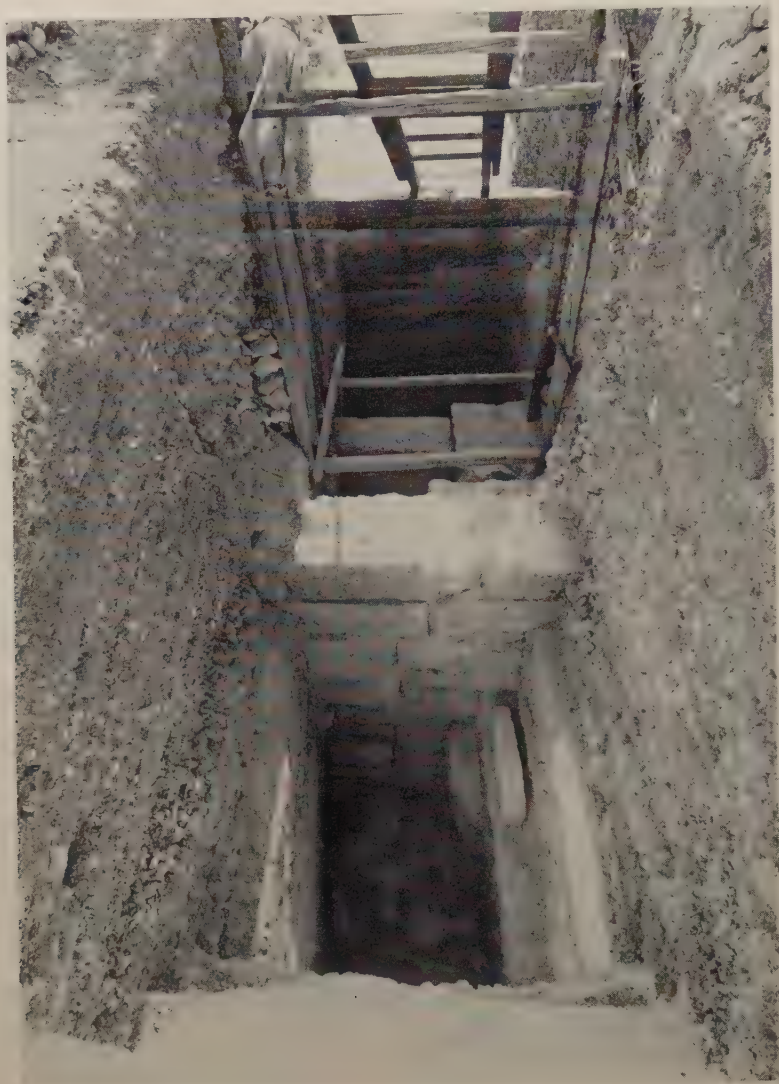


Fig. 25. Trench North of St. Demetrius, from the East

Themistoclean wall it is easily followed, and often completely exposed, in the rock floor of the valley. The ruts worn in the solid rock by the wheels of the carts are

(Marcellinus, *Life of Thucydides*, 16; Preller, *Polemonis Fragmenta* [1838], frag. IV) places Kimon's grave beyond the Melitean Gate; Herodotus (VI, 103) puts the grave beside the road through Koile "before the Asty." This means outside the Long Walls too, according to Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 140.



everywhere well defined, and in some places reach a depth of twenty to thirty centimetres (Fig. 27). In places there are two sets of ruts, indicating a two-lane highway; in other places the width is reduced to one lane, with well-defined by-passes. A little below the point where the road is first visible, a rock-cut channel enters the line of traffic. It comes from the central Pnyx hill to the north, and continues along the northern side of the road as far as the channel can be traced. This channel is about 0.50 m. deep, and approximately as wide. In places remains of a stucco lining can be seen. In at least two places transverse gullies or chasms in the bedrock must originally have been filled with road metal since disappeared, for both wheel ruts and drain are interrupted by them.

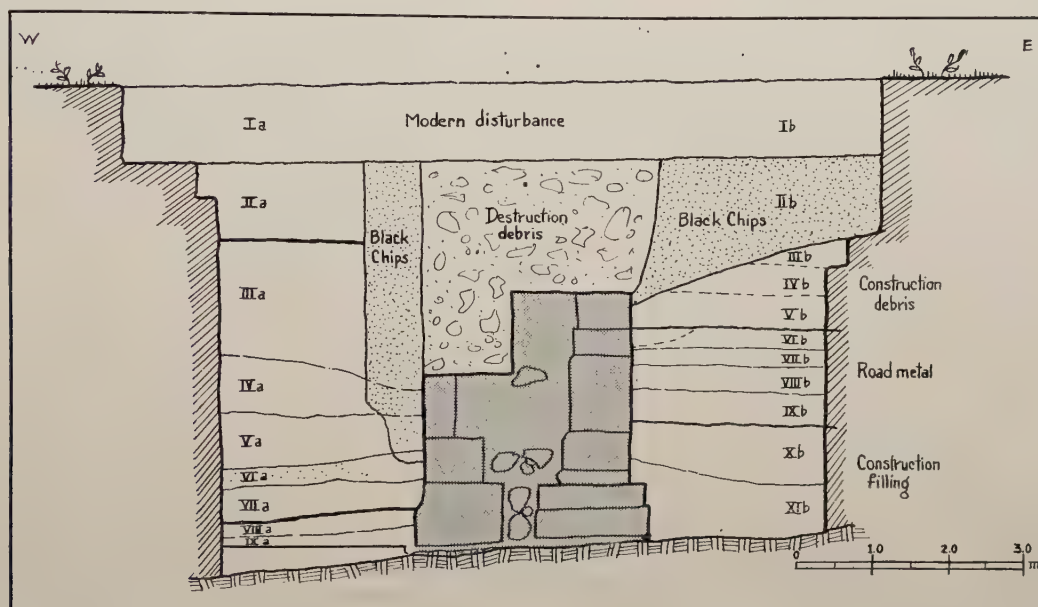


Fig. 26. Section Showing Stratification in Trench North of the Church of St. Demetrius

In parts of its length the road is bordered by a continuous flat bedding, which follows the slight turns, and is doubtless to be interpreted as the bedding for a low retaining wall or kerb. Numerous cuttings for houses and buildings border the road; stairs, alleys, and side streets, indicated by slighter wheel ruts, lead away from it on either side. A marble block, curved in plan, is to be seen at the point where the road first appears below the gate; it is doubtless part of an exedra which presumably stood near by, facing the passing traffic. Relics of a period after the region ceased to be inhabited are a few columnar grave monuments, numerous rock-cut graves, and many tile-lined and tile-covered burials scattered along each side of the ancient road.

The road we have been describing is one of the best defined ancient thoroughfares

to be seen anywhere in Greece; it was evidently an important artery of traffic, and must have been of some significance in Athens. We find a ready explanation for this preëminence in the fact that it must have been one of the two main highways from Athens to the Peiraeus. The other, leaving from the Peiraic gate, proceeded on level ground for the entire distance, and must under normal circumstances have been the more commonly used. But our road between the Pnyx and the Museum was almost



Fig. 27. Ancient Road to Long Walls

certainly the continuation of the road between the Long Walls; at least we found no road as well marked by travel in the one other logical place, i. e., between the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs. This is probably because the slope from the latter col is very steep towards the city, whereas from the Dipylon there is a gentle grade to the valley between the Pnyx and the Areopagus. Thus we may suppose that from the opening of the Peloponnesian War until the abandonment of the Long Walls, all the provisions which were shipped to Athens during times of siege passed up from the Peiraeus between the Long Walls, along our road and into the city. Before the construction of the Long Walls, the road may have been used by those going from the Agora to Phaleron, a route which may also have been popular in late Hellenistic, Roman, and Mediaeval times.



The builders of the Compartment Wall provided for the road with a double gate or dipylon, which we shall find reason to identify as the "Dipylon above the Gates." Of this gate complex, the northern half lies almost entirely under the church yard and church of St. Demetrius. The southern half was uncovered and examined during the course of the excavations (Pl. XVII and Fig. 28). All periods of construction



Fig. 28. South Gate Tower of Dipylon (C3), from the North

observed elsewhere along the line were represented here, as well as indications of even another repair, showing that the gate was an important part of the system. The complex in its original form consisted of two large towers in the line of the wall, flanking the broad entrance to a court formed by heavy spur walls leading cityward from the towers to a somewhat lighter, inner cross-wall in which was the actual gate (Fig. 29).

The south front tower (C3) was almost square—about eight metres on each side. It was built in a style characteristic of the Compartment Wall, as hitherto observed. The bedding for the foundations was prepared by working away the bedrock in places, and by filling the hollows with packing. The foundations below ground level consisted

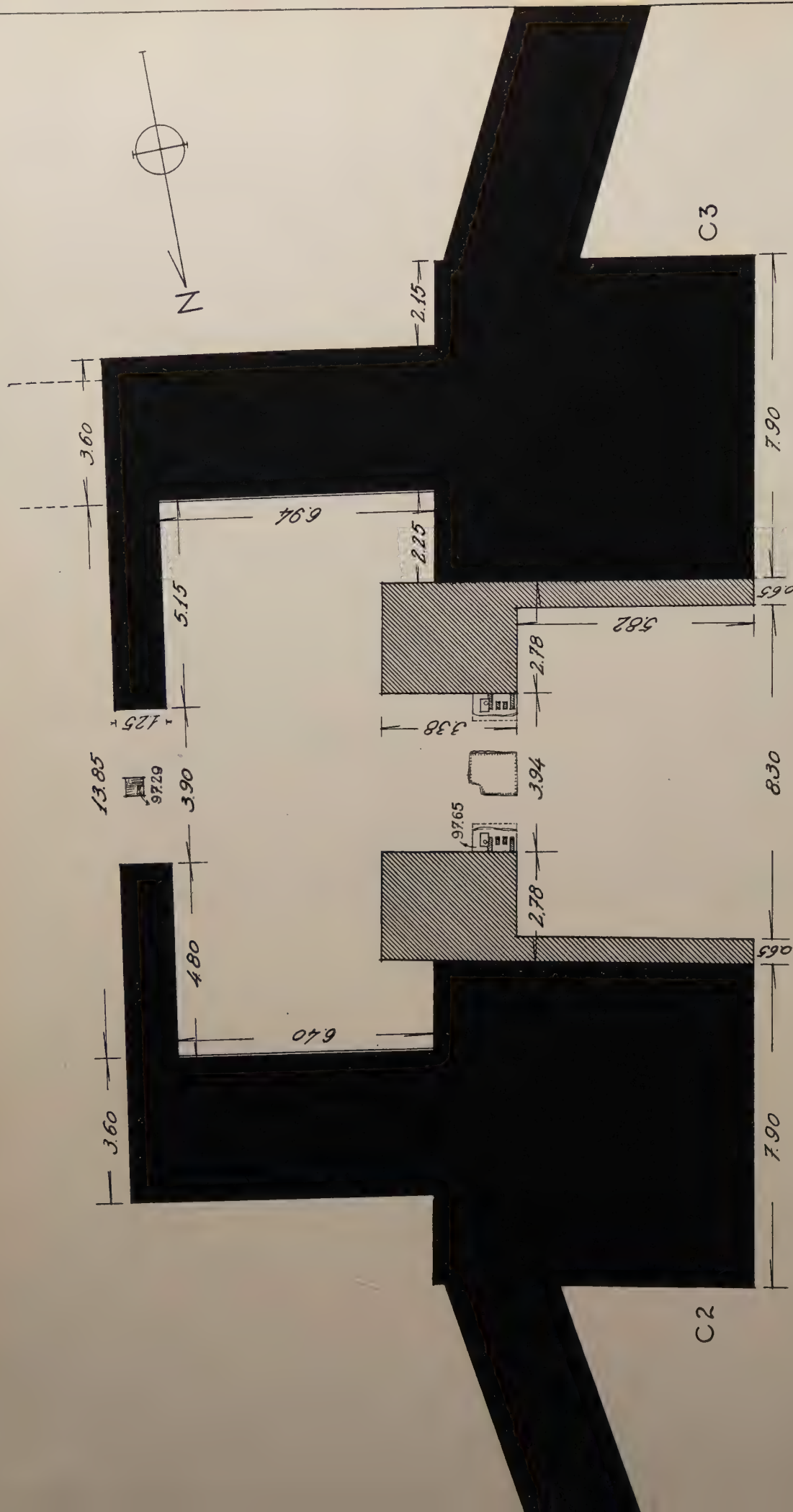


Fig. 29. Plan of the Dipylon of the Compartment Wall (Black), with Additions of the White Poros Period (Shaded)



of re-used blocks of various materials. On this underpinning was laid a facing of orthostates, in which (where possible) headers alternated with stretchers, although the rhythm of two stretchers to one header was not observed. This is probably to be attributed to the fact that the dimensions of the tower do not permit the arrangement of blocks of standard size in that way (six stretchers and two headers would give a face of about 9.00 m.; four stretchers and three headers would give a face of about 7.00 m.). The coursing was probably pseudo-isodomic; i. e., a low course alternated with a high course of orthostates. This is assumed from an examination of the south wall (Fig. 30). The preserved course of orthostates, which was intended to be the



Fig. 30. South Wall of South Gate Tower (C3), from the South. Arrow Marks West Face of Curtain

lowest visible, has pry-holes on the top of the blocks for the setting of a regular series of blocks of approximately standard length. Behind the orthostates the packing is brought to a flat surface level with the top of the orthostates. On this packing rests a series of blocks arranged as headers, separated from each other by spaces filled with packing. The ends of the headers lie *ca.* 0.70-0.80 m. behind the face of the tower. Thus it would seem that the next course of facing blocks was intended to project into the body of the tower about 0.70 m., or more than the normal thickness of the orthostates. The blocks were probably not 0.70 m. square in cross section, but were more likely less high than deep, and would thus seem to have been laid flat, the smallest dimension being the height. The height of the low course may be calculated from the fact that the top of the orthostates on the south wall is 1.15 m. above the top of the orthostates on the north side. This difference is equivalent to an orthostate course of 0.75-0.80 m. in height, and a low course of 0.35-0.40 m. in height. Confirmation is perhaps to be seen in the construction exposed on the south wall where it joined the curtain. Here the filling for the curtain had been removed, and the coursing is as

deduced above. The treatment of the blocks is the same as hitherto noted—natural or quarry face, sometimes moderately flattened; beveled edges, here at all joints. Cuttings for hook clamps show that the southwestern corner block was fastened to each of its neighbors. Clamps have not been observed elsewhere in the wall construction.



Fig. 31. South Wall of Dipylon Court, from the South. Arrow Points to Southwest Corner of Court

Within the facing of the tower were laid blocks arranged as headers separated by irregular intervals. The spaces between were filled with small stones, broken pieces of wall blocks, and working chips. The wall thus formed was approximately two metres in thickness. It had no inner face, but the core of the tower was filled with stones, chips, and earth. This filling was packed tight and hard, and brought to a level surface. It is possible that the irregular courses of blocks extended throughout the core, but it is perhaps more probable that the surface of the packing was used as a bedding for brick, which, above some point impossible to determine, became the exclusive building material.<sup>49</sup>

From about the middle of the city side of the south tower a spur wall about 3.60 m. in thickness projected inward (Figs. 31, 32). As nearly as can be judged from the ill-preserved foundations, the outer face of the spur wall was finished in the same way as the tower

itself. The inner face requires special comment. The lowest, euthynteria, course is of well-dressed blocks of limestone. The only preserved block of the second course is of Hymettian marble, evidently re-used. It is finished on the exposed face with the toothed hammer. It has a setting line on the top, *ca.* 0.085 m. from the face; on the end toward the tower it has a cutting for a square dowel with pour channel. On the opposite end is the cutting for a hooked clamp.<sup>50</sup> A dowel cutting on the lower surface at the same end has no corresponding dowel cutting on the block beneath, sufficient

<sup>49</sup> It is worth noting that a late Hellenistic tower in the Peiraeus (Wrede, *Attische Mauern* [1933], plate 60 with text) seems to have a core of hard-packed rubble, on which rest several courses of mud brick. On the brick are laid courses of masonry throughout the tower. Some three of these courses are preserved.

<sup>50</sup> Inadvertently omitted on the plan of actual state.



proof that the block is re-used. It is possible, then, though not certain that the entire court was faced with re-used marble blocks.

The spur wall continues from the tower on the side of the court for about 6.94 m. Then it returns at right angles across the inner end of the court a distance of *ca.*



Fig. 32. South Wall of Dipylon Court, from the North. Arrow Points to Southwest Corner of Court

5.15 m. with its thickness reduced to *ca.* 1.25 m. None of the superstructure is preserved, but the packing for the setting of the blocks could be followed in the bottom of the trench from which late pillagers had removed the blocks. The only part of the northern half of the dipylon which could be examined was the end of the corresponding inner cross-wall. Here are preserved three foundation blocks—two stretchers lying side by side, with a rectangular block across their ends. Presumably the latter served as a foundation for a block supporting the door jamb; the corresponding block has been removed from the south cross-wall, but a bedding for the block is there preserved. A small stone *ca.* 0.45 m. square lies in the centre of the opening between the ends of the stretchers on the north, and the division of earth which represents the

inner edge of the jamb-foundation block on the south; this central block may have been an underpinning for a door stopper of some sort. The width of the gateway would thus seem to have been approximately 3.90 m. Nothing more of the nature of the gate can be determined.

It might seem possible to recover the distance between the outer towers simply by restoring the northern half of the complex symmetrically, but this is unfortunately difficult (Fig. 29 and Pl. XVII). None of the angles in the southern half is truly a right angle, and we can hardly assume a more accurate plan for the northern half. If we suppose that the axis of the gate complex passed through the middle of the inner gateway, and was parallel to the north face of the south tower, and that the complex was symmetrical on this basis, we get an interval of *ca.* 9.80 m. between the outer towers. But in connection with our study of a later period of the dipylon we shall find reason to believe that the spacing of these towers was only 9.50 m. at the inner corners, and possibly a little wider, or *ca.* 9.60 m. at the outer corners (*infra*, p. 352).

We found indications that the south spur wall continued cityward beyond the inner cross-wall, but were unable to examine it fully because of the trees and plantings of the park on the adjoining slopes of the Museum Hill. Presumably this continuation of the wall served as a retaining wall for a terrace to the south, protecting the road from wash from the higher ground. It may, of course, and probably did, serve also as a means of access to the top of the gate tower.

The curtain which led southward from the south front tower presents some problems at the point of juncture (Fig. 33). A space some 0.80 m. wide in the tower wall at this point was never occupied by blocks; the filling of the tower and the curtain was continuous. The inner, city face of the curtain is clearly indicated by a row of foundation blocks leading off from the very northeastern corner of the tower. This inner face was not bonded with the tower except for the cutting of a shallow notch into the tower wall blocks. No special foundation for the outer face is preserved, nor is there any indication of bonding for the outer face. But the wall of a house, destroyed on the construction of the tower, must have been used for the foundation of the outer facing of the city wall, supplemented by some packing of small stones. This house wall is built of well finished blocks of limestone, jointed polygonally. The wall had been covered with a coat of good plaster. On the building of the city wall, the space between one house wall and the foundations of the inner face of the city wall had been filled with stones and earth; the gaps in the house wall were made good with small stone packing, and the city wall was carried up on these foundations.

The width at this point is greater than hitherto, being some 3.30 m. in all. Not improbably, a flight of stairs, or ramp, led from the slope of the hill behind the wall to the upper level of the tower at this point. A further peculiarity may be seen in the setting mark scratched on the uppermost of the preserved blocks of the tower at the junction of the outer face of the wall (Fig. 30, to right of arrow). It is natural for this line to mark the outer face of the wall, but it lies just along the inner edge of



the house wall which evidently supported the wall facing here. Quite possibly the setting mark was originally cut to indicate the landward face of the curtain, but when construction began, it was decided to utilize the house wall as a foundation, and the face of the fortification was advanced by that much beyond the originally intended line.



Fig. 33. Junction of Curtain and South Face of South Gate Tower (C3), from the Southeast. A, West Face of Curtain. B, East Face of Curtain. C, Wall of Pre-Dipylon House.

The conception and construction of this gate offer little that is particularly remarkable from the point of view of comparative military architecture. The idea of a court, protected in front by towers, and with a gate that can be closed in back, is thoroughly common. A rather remarkably close parallel might be mentioned, how-

ever, in the Neapolitan gate at Philippi.<sup>51</sup> Both are distinguished by their simplicity and regularity, and the plans would appear to be almost identical. The Athenian gate may be of particular value in showing that the word "dipylon" was applied to this type of gate (as we shall see to be the case) in spite of the fact that there was only one actual door that could be closed.<sup>52</sup>

#### THE COMPARTMENT WALL ON THE MUSEUM HILL

The course of the wall up the slopes of the Museum follows approximately the modern path (*supra*, p. 287, Fig. 11; also, Figures 34, 42). For some forty metres up the hill the wall has lain exposed for many years, the tops of the blocks showing in the trodden path. Along a stretch of some ten metres we cleared the debris away from against the faces, and examined the filling of the curtain. The construction as before is of conglomerate blocks, here too much weathered to show the original style of dressing. They are arranged as headers and stretchers, two of the latter followed by one of the former, in each course. They are laid on blocks of re-used material of all sorts, which in turn are bedded now on roughly worked bedrock, again on small-stone packing. The thickness of the wall is here about 2.80 m. (Figs. 35, 36). A late tower (M6) was examined against the face about forty metres from the gate; nothing of a date certainly contemporary with the Compartment Wall was found, but some workings in the bedrock may have belonged to a tower of the early period. They cannot be considered positive proof of such a tower, however. About eighty metres above the gate the wall reaches the shoulder of the hill. Here on the northern edge of the shoulder there was a tower (C4) which commanded at once the area in front of the gateway, and the road for some distance down the valley. It is so ill preserved that little could be learned of its original construction. The plan, however, can be determined with a margin of error of a few centimetres, by the scanty remains of foundations or by the line of earth which had heaped up against the blocks since extracted. The tower, not quite rectangular, measured 8.00 m. on the south and west, 12.00 m. on the north. A short flank of *ca.* 3.50 m. enfiladed the curtain above the Dipylon.

From this point the wall proceeds a little east of south in an almost straight line toward the monument of Philopappos. From a point about thirty-five metres south of the last mentioned tower, a stretch some twenty metres in length is fairly well preserved, although it is so overgrown with trees that no attempt was made to clear it.

<sup>51</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 26 ff., pl. IX.

<sup>52</sup> Other dipylons in Athens (Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 135 ff.), Peiraeus (Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 152), Assos (Clarke, Bacon, Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos* [Cambridge, 1902], pp. 197, 209) are almost as simple fundamentally, but larger. Others, as at Mantinea, are more elaborately and consciously varied (Fougères, *Mantinee et l'Arcadie orientale* [Paris, 1898], *passim*; idem, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 65 ff.). The oldest simple example in Greece is probably Gate A at Gla (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, pl. X).



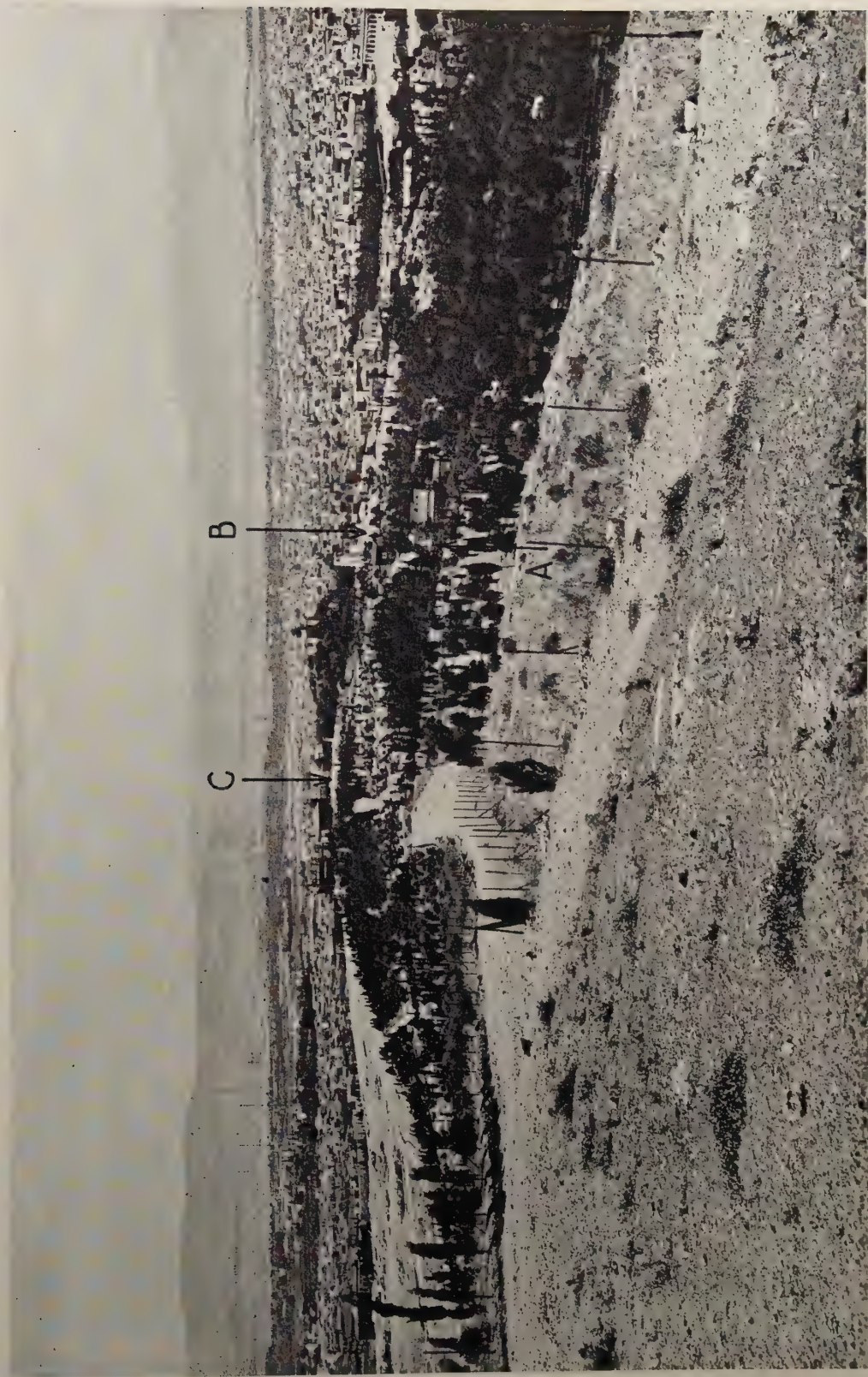


Fig. 34. The Pnyx, from the Museum Hill. A, Dipylon. B, East End of East Stoa. C, North End of West Stoa





Fig. 35. Inner Face of Compartment Wall on Slopes of Museum, above Dipylon



Fig. 36. Interior of Compartment Wall on Slope of Museum above Dipylon



A late tower (M7) was examined at the beginning of the stretch, and again worked bedrock was found that may possibly indicate an early tower. The construction of the wall is similar to that observed before, although the conglomerate blocks are so weathered as to make the details of surface dressing obscure. The width of the curtain in this stretch attains the unprecedented maximum of 3.40 m. The section terminates about eighty metres above the shoulder in a fine circular tower (C5) 8.00 m. in diameter, the plan of which deserves comment (Fig. 37).



Fig. 37. Round Tower (C5) of Compartment Wall on Museum Hill, from the Northwest.  
A, Bedding for Brick in Compartment Wall. B, Outer Face of Tower of Mortar Repair

The facing of the city side of the wall continues without a break behind the tower. The field face, however, when it reaches the spring of the tower from the north, comes to a complete stop, and is only imperfectly bonded with the tower. The field face of the curtain descending the hill from the south, on the other hand, continues without a break behind the tower until it reaches the point of the northern spring. Here it curves outward (Fig. 38), describes a circle, and returns on the uphill side in an almost straight line to meet itself at right angles without bonding. Thus the entire facing wall of the tower is one with the field face of the curtain to the south. No part

of the facing which was intended to be visible is preserved. Only the foundations of the tower exist, and those are incomplete. They consist of many re-used blocks, but include some cut for the immediate purpose. They were bedded sometimes on solid rock, but in the front section of the tower were laid on clean earth rammed to extraordinary hardness. The interior of the tower was filled with small stones and clay. There are definite strata of these materials, leading to the assumption that the filling was thrown in perhaps to the level of the top of each course as it was laid, then rammed



Fig. 38. Filling of Compartment Wall behind Round Tower (C5). Arrows Mark Inner and Outer Faces of Wall

tight. The curtain behind the tower also exhibits the same peculiarities. The filling was removed in a pit between the facings, to bedrock. The wall foundations are preserved to a height of about 1.50 m. At that level, the filling for the curtain had been tamped hard and flat. Across it, at irregular intervals, were built step-like walls of small stones, producing a series of short low terraces. The most probable solution is that at this level the filling was terraced off for the reception of brick. Remains of sun-dried brick were found *in situ* on the steps; these bricks as found measured *ca.* 0.27 m. by 0.22 m., but they have been so worn by water that neither of these dimensions is certainly complete. They are preserved only *ca.* 0.05 m. in height. The



only objection to restoring the upper part of the wall in brick is the fact that little melted brick remains on the walls. It is surprising that large quantities of brick should have disappeared so completely, although the steepness of the hill makes it conceivable.

For the next seventy metres the wall has almost completely disappeared. Its course is marked by fragments of later construction, which give the direction, and by rock cuttings which go far to complicate the situation. A late tower M8 was found



Fig. 39. Construction inside Postern in Compartment Wall, beside Tower C6, from the North.  
A, Inner Face of Curtain. B, Poros Cornice Block

half way along this stretch. At the end of the distance there are the insignificant remains of a rectangular tower 8.00 m. square (C6), of which only the foundations for the south wall remain. For the north wall a series of rock cuttings whereby the highest points were removed for the reception of blocks indicates the line. The arrangement of blocks of the curtain at the northern spring of the tower is most unusual (Fig. 39). In line with the northern wall of the tower a well-defined wall of blocks (Fig. 39, at top) crosses the curtain. One of these blocks projects a few centimetres beyond the curtain on the city side, and its end rests on the end of a block

which is tightly joined to a third block within the curtain. The second block rests only on hard-packed earth, and although it has anathyrosis on the extremity facing the city, there are no other blocks or traces of other blocks contiguous to it. About 1.40 m. north of this (Fig. 39, above first fence-post) a second line crosses the curtain. The facing on the city side is missing, but evidently rested on a foundation that included a cornice block of poros. About 2.30 m. north from this (Fig 39, above Block A) a single header projects some 0.15 m. from the wall on the city face, but there seems to be no trace of bedding for inward continuation. There seems to be no better explanation of this difficulty than that a postern gate lay between the two lines of headers, the gate being closed later by the insertion of blocks. The southern projecting block may be the foundation for a stair or ramp, affording access to the top of the wall above the postern. The projection of the header to the north of the gate can be explained only as carelessness. Of this construction, the postern at least is probably original; some of the work may date from reconstructions.

This is the last point at which any remains of the superstructure of the Compartment Wall can be observed *in situ*. Some thirty metres above the tower the line of the curtain was exposed, but the only remains were numerous cuttings in the bedrock not all of which need belong to the fortifications, and of a line of packing for the support of the foundation blocks of the city face of the wall. Cuttings, however, indicate that the wall ascended the hill further and met the Themistoclean circuit west of the peak.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> We observed traces of the Themistoclean wall at various points along the ridge of the Museum Hill. To the southeast we found slight rock cuttings in connection with the towers of the Mortar Repair period, which indicate that the classical defenses of the region followed the same line as those of the early Christian period. The traces on the peak of the Museum are followed on our plan (Pl. XIV). From the tower of the White Poros period which marks the point at which the Compartment Wall reached the crest of the hill west of the peak (C7), we were able to follow more or less distinctive cuttings in the bedrock all along the crest of the ridge almost to its western end, except where quarrying had encroached on the line. This line is indicated by Judeich, on the cliff which marks the western extremity of the northern slopes of the hill; *ca.* 2.50 m. below the crest we observed an incomplete line of roughly polygonal limestone blocks, indicating the course of a line of wall *ca.* 3.00 m. thick. The wall would have consisted of two outer facings and a filling of rubble. Seventy metres below the crest are some blocks which suggest a tower in the wall; the dimensions cannot be recovered with certainty, but it would appear that the tower projected about 3.00 m. and was perhaps 5.00 m. wide. (These traces are indicated by Curtius, *Sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen* [1868], plans 3 and 4; Curtius-Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen* [1878], plan 3.) From the hollow where Judeich indicates the Melitean Gate the wall proceeds some metres to the southwest along a ridge, and thence almost due north along the foot of the westward spurs of the Pnyx ridge, as Judeich shows on his plan. A single line of roughly polygonal blocks still exists to the south of the intersection of this line of wall with the stream issuing from the valley between the Museum and the central Pnyx. No further traces exist to the north. The traces of the south Long Wall indicated by Judeich on the hill to the west of the junction with the Themistoclean circuit still exist, at least in part. They consist of fairly well-dressed blocks of limestone in the shape of trapezia.



## THE MUSEUM FORT

At a point midway between the last square tower and the junction with the Themistoclean circuit we are introduced to another phase of the building period of the Compartment Wall. From the Compartment Wall at this point to the easternmost nose-like brow of the Museum Hill there runs a cross-wall which forms the city side of an enclosure on the hilltop, the other two sides being closed by the Compartment Wall and the Themistoclean circuit. At the angle which this cross-wall makes with the Compartment Wall there was a large tower (D1), some 14.00 m. by 9.50 m. The remains of this are confined to rock-cut beddings, which are obscure enough, for they cross earlier cuttings and are crossed by later workings. The walls of the tower were only about 2.00 m. in thickness.

From this tower there leads a series of rock-cut beddings eastward along the face of the hill. The cuttings are in two parallel lines, indicating the one-time existence of a wall with two faces and a rubble core, with foundations about 2.10-2.40 m. thick. The superstructure, however, may have been as little as 2.00 m. This wall led directly to the great central tower (D2) excavated by Skias toward the close of the last century.<sup>54</sup> Of the central tower, 9.50 by 11.00 m., the foundations and parts of the first two courses remain (Fig. 40). The lower course is of blocks laid flat, forming a solid platform 2.10 m. in thickness. The blocks are about 0.45 m. in height. The second course is of orthostates about 0.65 m. in height. The surfaces have the quarry face; the edges on all joints are beveled. Two stretchers alternate with one header. The material is conglomerate. Thus the style is identical with that observed heretofore in the course of the Compartment Wall. The corner block, in the low course, is treated with corner drafting. The tower was built over many pre-existing rock cuttings, of which the purposes are not all apparent. Within the tower, a rock-cut basin with a plaster lining may be all that remains of a cistern in the base of the tower.

Further east the wall followed the brow of a cliff or ledge of rock. In places it was built on a slope of considerable steepness, so that the cuttings for the foundation come again to consist of parallel beddings for each face. At the points where the slope is steepest the faces must have been as much as 3.50 m. apart, but one may assume that a pronounced batter soon reduced the thickness of the superstructure to about 2.00 m. Following the crest of the ledge the curtain makes a rounded turn and ascends to the nose-like rock which is the eastern extremity of the peak of the hill (Fig. 41). On this rock there are numerous cut beddings, some of which must belong to the earlier, Themistoclean, construction; but on the basis of other cuttings we know that the cross wall here, as at its western end, terminated in a strong tower (T1), here set on the high eminence in the angle between cross-wall and circuit wall.

<sup>54</sup> Skias, *Πρακτικά*, 1898, pp. 68 f.; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 162.



Fig. 40. Tower D2 of Fort on Museum, from the Northeast



Fig. 41. The East Brow of the Museum Hill, from the Southwest



## THE DATE OF THE COMPARTMENT WALL

The evidence for the dating of the earliest completed *diateichisma*, the Compartment Wall, is fortunately adequate. It is threefold: literary, epigraphic, and ceramic. Sherds were obtained in considerable quantities and in significant relation to the construction from three widely separated places along the course of the wall, and in numerous other places were found smaller deposits which correlated closely. Some of these have been mentioned in passing, but the entire body of evidence will be reviewed here. The sherds came from contexts of four types: houses destroyed to make way for the wall; construction debris; filling inside the wall; and later accumulation against the face of the wall.

The house which was razed by the builders of the Dipylon above the Gates at the road through Koile (see above, pp. 322-3) dated from after the middle of the fourth century before Christ. This is established by the presence of sherds found under the floor of the house and like those from the latest period of the majority of houses at Olynthos (destroyed in 348 B.C.). In the trench to the north of the Dipylon (Fig. 26), where the wall had been set through a mosaic floor (p. 312), a few sherds of the mid-fourth century were found beneath the floor level in a small area where the mosaic had been broken. The houses are accordingly not earlier than the middle of the fourth century B.C.; the wall is later.

In the same trench to the north of the Dipylon above the Gates, outside the wall, two strata (VIIIa and IXa) totalling some 0.40 m., lying on the house floor, and a thicker stratum (XIb) about 0.85 m. deep, on the city side of the wall, which can be identified as construction debris by the presence of working chips, produced a fair amount of sherds of the late fourth century B.C. These were similar to those found in the filling of the wall.

The filling inside the wall was examined at four places; in the trench to the north of the Dipylon; in the Dipylon south tower; in the well-preserved section about forty metres above the Dipylon on the Museum Hill, and in the circular tower (C5) on the upper slopes of the Museum Hill. Large quantities of sherds were recovered, belonging uniformly to the second half of the fourth century B.C., and as late as the last quarter of the century. Numerous parallels exist between these sherds and the earliest material from the cemeteries at Alexandria, and from Groups A and B in the Agora.<sup>55</sup>

A happy bit of corollary evidence is supplied by the series of road beds which had accumulated behind the wall in the trench north of the Dipylon. Five successive layers of road metal were distinguished (VIb to Xb, Fig. 26). Of these the earliest, directly overlying the construction debris at the bottom of the trench, contained sherds of the earliest third century. The succeeding accumulation, about 1.25 m. in depth, showed

<sup>55</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 313 ff.

in each stratum a progressively later date. The latest, at the top of the series, contained sherds of the mid-second century B.C., so that the road may be said to have been renewed about once every twenty-five years.

We have seen that the West Stoa is earlier than the Compartment Wall, but since the fortification followed so closely the slightly worked bedding for the rear wall of the Stoa, they cannot be far separated in time. For if they had been, the bedding for the wall of the Stoa would have been covered and forgotten. Hence, the date of the Stoa itself will be only slightly earlier than that of the wall. And, in fact, the pottery from the wall was quite the same as that from the Stoa, the later pieces being very few and hardly distinguishable. As the date of the Stoa has been placed a little before 325 B.C., the wall can be only a little later.<sup>56</sup>

In short, we are in possession of a gratifying amount of ceramic evidence which puts the construction period of the Compartment Wall about the end of the fourth century B.C. It is not difficult to find references to this construction in the written history of the period. The great inscription relating to the restoration of the walls of the Asty and of Peiraeus, and the Long Walls, dated in 307/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 463)<sup>57</sup> is sufficient proof of extensive work done on the defenses of the city in this period. We cannot suppose that this decree records the decision of the people to build the *diateichisma* which we have been examining. The inscription is fairly well preserved, and the text specifies only repairs and reconstructions on the Long Walls, and the circuits of the Peiraeus and the Asty. There is no mention of completely new works to be initiated. On the other hand, from the text we are able to deduce the fact that provision had been made for the fortification under discussion. In line 53 of the text, specification is made "of the circuit (of the city excepting) the *diateichisma* and the *dipylon above the gates*."<sup>58</sup> This phrase describes our wall so perfectly that it must be the same. The phrase also implies that the *diateichisma* and the *dipylon above the gates* were already in existence, or that they were otherwise provided for.

It has generally been assumed that the *diateichisma* of the inscription was built

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of the ceramic evidence for the date of these structures, see *supra*, p. 293, Fig. 15. This pottery is characteristic of that found everywhere with the Compartment Wall. From the wall itself comes (*d*).

*d*. Black-glazed kantharos. From among the construction debris of the Compartment Wall in the trench north of the Dipylon. Diameter, 0.125 m. Base and handles are missing. On the neck in letters made of clay slip: ΑΦ[Ρ]ΟΔΙΤΗΣ.

The high stem and the presence of the inscription preclude a date before the second half of the fourth century B.C. On the quality of its fabric and glaze the piece could scarcely be paralleled later. For the practice of inscribing the names of divinities on drinking cups, see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 339, no. B23 and p. 342, no. B37.

<sup>57</sup> To this inscription has recently been added a new fragment from the Agora, Meritt, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 66-72.

<sup>58</sup> The almost universally accepted restoration, suggested by Mueller and developed by Kolbe, *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, XXVII, 1907, pp. 331 ff.





Fig. 42. The Museum and Pnyx, from the Parthenon. A, Monument of Philopappos. B, Dipylon. C, East End of East Stoa

by Cleon *ca.* 425 B.C., and hence already in existence. Indeed, the traces of fortifications which have always been visible along the Pnyx range have almost universally been identified with a wall supposed to have been built by Cleon at this time.<sup>59</sup> The sole literary evidence for this construction was found in Aristophanes' *Knights*:

Lines 817-8:

σὺ δ' Ἀθηναίους ἐζήτησας μικροπολίτας ἀποφῆναι  
διατειχίζων καὶ χρησμοδῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἀντιφερίζων

The scholiast on the passages states it for a fact that Cleon built a *diateichisma* or cross-wall having in mind that the population of the city had decreased because of the wars and that it had become or soon would become difficult to man the entire length of the Themistoclean circuit. Cleon, therefore, according to the scholiast, put in a cross-wall to shorten the circuit if need arose:

Scholia 817: μικροπολίτας: Διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου στενοχωρίαν τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν σπάνιν συνέστειλαν τὰ τεῖχη.

818: διασχίζων: Συνάγων καὶ συστέλλων τὰ τεῖχη. διὰ γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀναλώματα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν σπάνιν συνέστειλαν τὰ τεῖχη.

It is universally pointed out that the only place where such a contraction could have been contemplated is along the Pnyx. But we found no traces of any wall of such an early date. Even at the Dipylon above the Gates, where any wall must pass, there was no indication of a wall having been built across the col before the Compartment Wall. Indeed, occupying the site of the southern tower, in the line which any wall must follow, there were remains of a house which had been standing in the latter part of the fourth century. Hence it would seem almost incontrovertible that Cleon did not build a *diateichisma*, in fact, though he may have expressed the desire to do so, giving the inspiration for Aristophanes' remark. Perhaps, if this be true, the cuttings behind the Compartment Wall along the East Stoa (*supra*, p. 310) could be associated with an abortive attempt of Cleon's to build a *diateichisma*, but we have seen that even this is doubtful.

Other possible dates for a *diateichisma* suggested by literary evidence would be around the middle of the fourth century.<sup>60</sup> Yet, again, the fact that our pottery proves

<sup>59</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 161, gives a summary of views heretofore held on the subject. As previous theories have been superseded by the results of the present excavation, they need not be discussed further. It may be noted, however, that Noack, in 1906 (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, pp. 508-9) decided on the basis of excavation that the section preserved on the Hill of the Nymphs, at least, could not be earlier than the fourth century. Frickenhaus, in *Athens Mauern im 4ten Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1905), p. 32, note 1, doubts the existence of a *diateichisma* of Cleon. His grounds, however, are specious; he argues that a "diateichisma" must cross an isthmus or the like, and hence could exist only in the Peiraeus.

<sup>60</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 86. For echoes of possible work on the fortifications in the middle



a late fourth-century date for the Compartment Wall, and the absence of traces of a wall earlier than the Compartment Wall, militate against using these notices for fortification in the region of the Pnyx at that time.

Hence we must suppose that the decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 463 provided for the repairs of existing fortifications, but that another, approximately contemporary decree, provided for the construction of the Compartment Wall. The need for armament is reflected in literature, which gives evidence for an extra accumulation of arms and supplies in preparation for the Four Years' War.<sup>61</sup>

We may even come to a notion of how long a period was covered by the building of the wall. The cross-wall on the Museum Hill, enclosing the area just below the peak (pp. 331 ff.) must, under the circumstances, be the Macedonian fortress, as has been long accepted. This was apparently built by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 294 B.C.;<sup>62</sup> at least his placing of a garrison on the Museum is the first recorded use of the fortress, and such a stronghold would have been of no apparent use to the city. Although no definite indication of the nature of the contact between the fortress wall and the *diateichisma* was found to show whether the former was of a piece with the latter or added afterwards, there can be little doubt but that the fortress was begun before the *diateichisma* was completed. The rock cuttings would suggest that the two bonded, although they do not prove it. The construction of the central tower of the fortress is so similar to that of the *diateichisma* that we must suppose that the same material, the same workmen, the same architect, contributed to the construction of both. Thus the entire building period may have been as long as fourteen or fifteen years.<sup>63</sup> If it was carried out at so leisurely a pace, it could scarcely have been a matter of immediate importance. The city circuit at that time had been repaired and was in good condition, and afforded ample protection for the city. The Compartment Wall was part of a far-sighted program whereby it was seen that eventually the Long Walls and part of the original circuit would have to be abandoned.

The fate of the structure is a problem in itself. Some parts of it survived to be repaired and used for a thousand years and more. Other parts seem literally to have disappeared in little more than half a century. The fortress on the Museum Hill seems

of the century, Cornelius Nepos, *Timoth.*, 4, 1; Xenophon, *De vect.*, 6, 1; Demosthenes, XIX, 125. Somewhat later, about 338 B.C., the walls seem to have been extensively repaired: Lycurgus, *Leokr.*, 44; Aeschines, III, 236; for the Peiraeus, *inter alia*, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 244.

<sup>61</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 374, 468; 1487; Plutarch, *Vit. orat.* X, 851 D.

<sup>62</sup> Plutarch, *Demet.*, XXXIV, 5; Pausanias, I, xxv, 8; Skias, *Πρακτικά*, 1898, p. 68; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 505, mentioning work on the city wall and south Long Wall, ca. 302/01 B.C., and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 774, dated ca. 250/49 honoring Aristomachos of Argos for aiding Athens, among other things, in work on the walls presumably soon after 300 B.C. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 146-8 dates this inscription 252/51 B.C.; Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. xxi and 99, date it 253/2 B.C.

to have been captured and partially destroyed *ca.* 288 B.C.<sup>64</sup> in what must have been one of the most spirited events of Athenian history in the Hellenistic period. The fortress, which for over five years had stood a grim insult to the Acropolis, was captured by storm. The Macedonian garrison which had inhabited it, in full view of the temples of the Acropolis (Figs. 41, 42) commanding from their point of vantage the entire city, were surprised by a group of intrepid plotters and either killed or expelled. It must have seemed a mad venture indeed to lead a body of men up the steep slopes of the hill to the walls, which in most places rested on the edge of un-scaleable cliffs, and the leader, Olympiodoros, well deserved the fame that lasted until the time of Pausanias and after.

If the storming occurred in 288 B.C., any damage which the walls and towers incurred must have been soon repaired, for we know that in 268/7 B.C., the ephebes were standing garrison duty on the Museum.<sup>65</sup> There is no evidence to show when this practice began nor how long it lasted, but we are perhaps justified in assuming that the fortress was used by the Athenians for their own purposes not long after its capture from the Macedonians, perhaps continuously up until the next chapter in its eventful history.

This next episode was an outcome of the Chremonidean War. During those troubled days the fortifications of the city everywhere must have been in good repair, for the city withstood a long siege culminating in surrender in 262 B.C.<sup>66</sup> A result of this war of immediate interest to us is the fact that the fortress on the Museum was occupied by the troops of Antigonus in 261 B.C. This second period of Macedonian occupancy terminated, apparently, in 256 B.C.<sup>67</sup> The circumstances attending the withdrawal of Antigonus' troops are not fully explained; Pausanias says he took them away voluntarily. The later history of the fortress itself cannot be followed.

As for the rest of the Compartment Wall, we shall see that the section on the central Pnyx Hill would seem to have disappeared in the following generation, or at least to have been completely neglected. Houses were built directly in front of it at the west end of the Pnyx, suggesting that even if it still stood undamaged it was not regarded as of military importance.<sup>68</sup> If it was destroyed by violence, in the

<sup>64</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 654, 666, 667. Pausanias, I, xxvi, 1 and 2; Plutarch, *Demet.*, XLVI; cf. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, IV, 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 232; 2<sup>2</sup>, p. 105. Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, pp. 61-2, would date this in the Chremonidean War. He dates *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 654 in 287/6 or 286/5 (p. 39), 666 and 667 in 268/7-267/6 (p. 42); cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. xvii and xix.

<sup>65</sup> *IG.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665, line 12. See redating by Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 584, and dating in 268/7 or 267/6 by Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 42; cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. xix and 27.

<sup>66</sup> Tarn, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 28 and 39. This more or less traditional dating of the war in 267/6-263/2, Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff., would change to 270/69-263/2 B.C.; but cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 33-34 and 72.

<sup>67</sup> Pausanias, III, vi, 6; see Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (1911), pp. 182 and 191.

<sup>68</sup> Not only is it *a priori* probable that a clear space should have been required in front of a





Fig. 43. Round-faced Tower (W2) of White Poros Wall, from the North.  
Arrow Points to Mouth of Cistern



Fig. 44. Round-faced Tower (W2) of White Poros Wall, from the West

absence of evidence of other events which might have caused such a catastrophe,<sup>69</sup> we may suppose that the damage was done in reprisal at the end of the Chremonidean War, but was not repaired partly because of foreign domination, partly because reliance was still laid on the outer circuit and the Long Walls.

### THE WHITE POROS WALL

It was not long before the fortifications of the city were completely reconditioned and renovated. On the Pnyx, we see the Compartment Wall repaired in some stretches, replaced in others. These changes were effected by builders employing a material so characteristic that it may easily be recognized at any point along the wall. The material is white poros, a stone which, when fresh from the quarry, is almost as soft as chalk, but when dry or after long exposure to the air, becomes reasonably firm and strong. In addition to the incidental repairs to be noted on the Compartment Wall where it still remained as the line of defense, the program involved the entire reorganization of the section along the central Pnyx Hill on a different line (Pl. XIV). The Compartment Wall had remained in places above the actual brow of the hill, in order to use in its course the foundations of the West Stoa, but the new wall followed along the very edge of the brow and sometimes a little below. The new position gave the defenders a greater advantage over the enemy, who had to approach over a steeper slope.

It might seem plausible that the White Poros Wall was an addition, a secondary or outer line of defense in front of the Compartment Wall. For this arrangement there would be some parallels,<sup>70</sup> but in the greater part it does not seem probable. Apart from reasons already given for assuming the destruction of the Compartment Wall, or its disintegration, at one point the White Poros Wall was only about 1.50 m. in front of the line of the Compartment Wall, too close for active passage of troops. Furthermore, we see (*infra*, pp. 346-348) that in one place where the Compartment Wall was certainly standing, the White Poros Wall was less substantially built.

fortification, but there is some direct evidence for the practice, although not entirely consistent. An inscription from Nisyros (*I.G.*, XII, 3, 86), cut on the face of a wall, claims five feet before the wall as public property, but does not specifically prohibit building. Another inscription from Paros has been restored by Dittenberger (*Syll.*<sup>1</sup>, 308) to require three feet clear before a wall, but in the *Corpus* (*I.G.*, XII, 5, 115) the inscription is referred to a harbor. An inscription on the Paulus Tower at Ephesus (Benndorf, *Jahreshefte*, 1899, Beiblatt, p. 33) demands fifty feet clear outside, forty feet inside the wall, and Philo, *Mechan. Synt.*, V, 80 (Τειχοποικῶν, sec. II), urges sixty cubits. See Dawkins, Wace, *B.S.A.*, XII, 1905/06, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>69</sup> Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-237.

<sup>70</sup> Philippi, *B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 7 ff., 24 ff., pls. I, V-VIII, where, although some parts seem to be Byzantine, others must be earlier. At Kadikalessi in Mysia there may be another example (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, p. 271). In other examples (e. g., Eretria, *A.J.A.*, VII, 1891, pp. 382 f.; cf. Scranton, *Greek Walls*, p. 39), one line probably replaced the other.



The White Poros Wall was in most places *ca.* 2.00 m. in thickness, built of ashlar blocks 1.35 m. long, 0.65 m. wide, and 0.45-0.50 m. high. The blocks were arranged as headers and stretchers in alternate courses. Each course consisted of a range of stretchers on one face, one of headers on the other. This disposition was alternated with each course, so as to show a course of stretchers alternating with one of headers on each face. The relative thinness of the wall and the great mass of broken stone in the trench resulting from the destruction of the wall suggest that it was of solid masonry to the top. The blocks in the lower courses (Fig. 51) were treated with a broad bevel or champfering about 0.04 m. wide on all edges. A drafted band about 0.10 m. wide extended along the bottom and two sides of each face, leaving in the centre a boss projecting some 0.05 m. In Figure 51, the side drafting is wider—0.15 m. and 0.20 m. The surface of the boss was carefully roughened by chiseling, but was left in a fairly flat plane. The upper courses are nowhere preserved *in situ*, but it is possible that they were treated differently. Relatively few fragments of blocks with drafted edges were found in the destruction debris, but some quantities of broken blocks were found with a different type of surface. This was produced by the use of a toothed chisel about 0.07 m. broad, applied closely and evenly over the entire surface of the block to give the face the appearance of having been dressed with a comb. The same chisel was used to produce the bearing surface, but in such cases the treatment is less uniform. Exact parallels for this treatment are lacking, probably because the use of so soft a stone is rare. A part of the precinct wall of the Asklepieion in Athens—at the east end of the south side—is similar in spirit;<sup>71</sup> the stone is much harder, and the effect was produced by the close application of the pointed chisel.

The wall was reinforced by a series of buttresses along the inner face (Pl. XVI, Fig. 45). These buttresses are built of the same sort of stone and are certainly contemporary, although they are not always bonded to the wall. Their construction is less careful and even; they measure about 1.35-1.40 m. square in plan, being composed of two blocks in each course laid at right angles to those in the course below, and the courses are not always of the same height. Occasionally the plan is as much as 2.00 m. in width by 1.35 m. in projection. They were probably spaced at intervals of *ca.* 4.60 m., centre to centre (*ca.* 14 Greek feet).<sup>72</sup> They were doubtless two-fold in purpose—to strengthen the wall and to support the parapet walk. Similar buttresses are found elsewhere, although rarely;<sup>73</sup> they have been identified by Stählin with the

<sup>71</sup> Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, 1933, plate 73. Scranton, *Greek Walls*, p. 106; p. 173, Lists C 7 and 8; p. 178, List D 4.

<sup>72</sup> Behind the East Stoa they are *ca.* 4.00 m., or 12 Greek feet.

<sup>73</sup> Demetrias: Stählin, Meyer, Heidner, *Pagasai und Demetrias* (Berlin, 1934), pp. 58, 82. Perge: Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (1890), Vol. I, p. 62. Side: *ibid.*, pp. 129-130. Pompeii: Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii* (1899), pp. 231 f. Rhodes: cf. Kromayer, Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römern* (1928), p. 236 and fig. 84; cf. p. 242. Velia: *Jahrbuch*, IV, 1889, p. 180. In general, see Droysen in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v., Befestigung, col. 192.

*ikria* described by Philo of Byzantium.<sup>74</sup> The buttresses of the White Poros Wall on the Pnyx may have supported either beams or arches for the parapet walk; the lack of fragments of voussoirs in the destruction debris may be thought to suggest trabeated construction at the top.

#### THE WHITE POROS WALL ALONG THE CENTRAL PNYX

The description of the wall may begin at the gateway in the Compartment Wall at the northern end of the central Pnyx hill. Here the roadway already mentioned was closed at some period by blocks which rested on a series of cuttings crossing the road at the inner corner of the northern jamb of the Compartment Wall gate (Pl. XV, Fig. 21). The road was thus forced to bend to the south, avoiding this masonry. Shallower wheel marks may be seen leaving the older road about two metres east of the gate (inadvertently omitted on the plan, Pl. XV). The road must have crossed the ruins of the southern jamb of the Compartment Wall gate on a hard road stratum of gravel which was found in the area south and east of the original gate. About 2.60 m. from the western edge of the Compartment Wall as represented by the cutting north of the gate, is the edge of a deep cutting in the bedrock, on which traces of plaster remain. This cutting must have been occupied by a house. In the floor of the first house-cutting were laid the foundations of the White Poros Wall, of which one course still remains. They were built tight against the cuttings, but no traces, either of blocks or of beddings for blocks, remain on the bedrock above or to the east of the house wall. Some light working on the top of the bedrock by the house wall beyond the end of the White Poros fortification wall may be taken as bedding for a door jamb. Thus we may assume that a gate existed between the end of the White Poros Wall and the thickening of the Compartment Wall. As no remains of white poros of any sort were found north of this point, it may be assumed that the Compartment Wall was not materially damaged in that stretch, and that the poros wall builders simply repaired it. The cuttings which cross the road (mentioned above) may be taken as beddings for a structure against the corner of the restored Compartment Wall, possibly the foot of a stairway leading to the parapet walk. The road, having swung south to avoid this obstruction, then doubled back northward and passed out through the new gate on a bed of earth and debris. No traces of this remain, because of the subsequent quarrying and the modern stairs which lead down into the bed of the quarry.

From this gateway the White Poros Wall leads directly to a square tower (W1). The northern face of the tower is continuous with the wall leading from the gate.

Examples from Chalkis (Aetolia), Phyle, and other sites given by Stählin are not really comparable; the buttresses in these cases are confined to the parapet.

<sup>74</sup> Philo, *Mechan. Synt.*, V, lxxx, 33 f. (Τειχοποιικόν, sec. III, 5).



The northwest corner of the tower is about 13.00 m. from the gate jamb. The tower has a western face of *ca.* 9.30 m. and projects from the curtain to the south for a distance of *ca.* 6.60 m. The tower was bedded on cuttings made for numerous earlier houses or other buildings which had been destroyed to make way for it. Along the rear face of the tower, about 3.30 m. from the wall to the gate, was a buttress projecting 3.50 m. inward, with a thickness of 1.35 m. About 3.40 m. to the south was another buttress projecting 4.00 m., with a similar width. From the city face of the last buttress to the end of the gate wall there extends the foundation of a wall only 0.50 m. in thickness, built of small stones and mud; it allows a passage between itself and the end of the first buttress. Although it cannot be determined whether this thin wall is contemporary with the buttresses or later, or even perhaps the remains of the wall of the ruined house, it would seem possible that at one time during the history of the White Poros Wall the spaces between the two buttresses and the gate wall were used as guardrooms for the gate watch. As the buttresses are of extraordinary length, and cannot have had any structural function so far as supporting the tower itself is concerned, it may be deduced that they were originally intended to form such guardrooms.

From Tower W1 the wall swung southwestward to the roots of the broad central spur of the Pnyx range toward the sea. Here there was a magnificent tower with short straight sides and rounded front, W2 (Pl. XV, Figs. 43, 44). The length of the straight sides is *ca.* 4.00 m.; the total projection was *ca.* 9.00 m., and the width *ca.* 11.00 m. The tower was not of solid masonry, but had a core composed largely of working chips from the construction of the wall. The tower walls are 2.50 m. in thickness at the base, but they were reduced by a batter on the outer face to a probable thickness of 2.00 m. On the north side, where the third course of blocks is preserved, the highest is set a distance of 0.27 m. inward from the outer face of the lower blocks. A setting line on the highest block indicates that the next course had been retracted *ca.* 0.12 m. Another such retraction, of 0.10 m., would reduce the thickness of the upper part of the wall to the normal thickness of 2.00 m. The preserved blocks are in no case well finished on their exposed face, so that they were apparently not meant to be seen.

Three buttresses supported the back of the tower. The southernmost projects 2.50 m.; the central one, 2.00 m., and the third 2.40 m. The first two are *ca.* 4.90 m. apart, the second two *ca.* 4.70 m., measured from centres. Although they are thus larger than the normal buttress, they are yet smaller than those at the northern gate, and represent probably not guardrooms but an extended parapet walk, with perhaps arrangements for ascending to the tower.

From the southeastern corner of tower W2 the wall proceeds in a southeasterly direction for *ca.* 40.00 m. to a point where it makes a slight angle to the south (Fig. 45). In the angle is a rectangular tower (W3) with a projection of *ca.* 10.00 m. and

a width of 11.00 m. The walls of the tower were about 2.00 m. in thickness, and enclosed a core of working chips and other stony material. Some forty metres to the south is a third square tower (W4), built in the same fashion. As its front wall rests on a slope, it was given a batter. This would appear from the fact that the trench left by those who destroyed the front wall and removed the stones from between the



Fig. 45. Blocks of Curtain (A), Buttress (B), and Bedding (C) for Northwest Face of Tower W3 of White Poros Wall, from the South

masses of earth which had accumulated against the sides, is 2.60 m. wide at the bottom. A fourth tower (W5) lay about forty metres to the south. The technique of construction is in general the same, although it may be doubted whether the walls were given a batter. The projection was only *ca.* 8.00 m.; the face of the tower measured *ca.* 8.50 m. in width at the base. The curtain here apparently made an angle, and an offset in the wall behind the tower probably indicates a stairway leading to the parapet walk. About twenty metres south of the propylon bedding (Pl. XVI), the wall was examined in a trench cut across its course. It was found that during the construction of the wall a number of houses on the city side had been destroyed. The debris from



their ruins had been spread out and terraced off with working chips from the dressing of the wall blocks.

At the southwestern corner of the hill, the Poros Wall turned eastward. The angle so formed (Pl. XVI) is protected by a great rectangular tower (W6) which projects *ca.* 9.40 m. from the westward-facing curtain, has a front of *ca.* 10.80 m., and returns 12.00 m. to form an obtuse angle with the curtain facing south. The walls

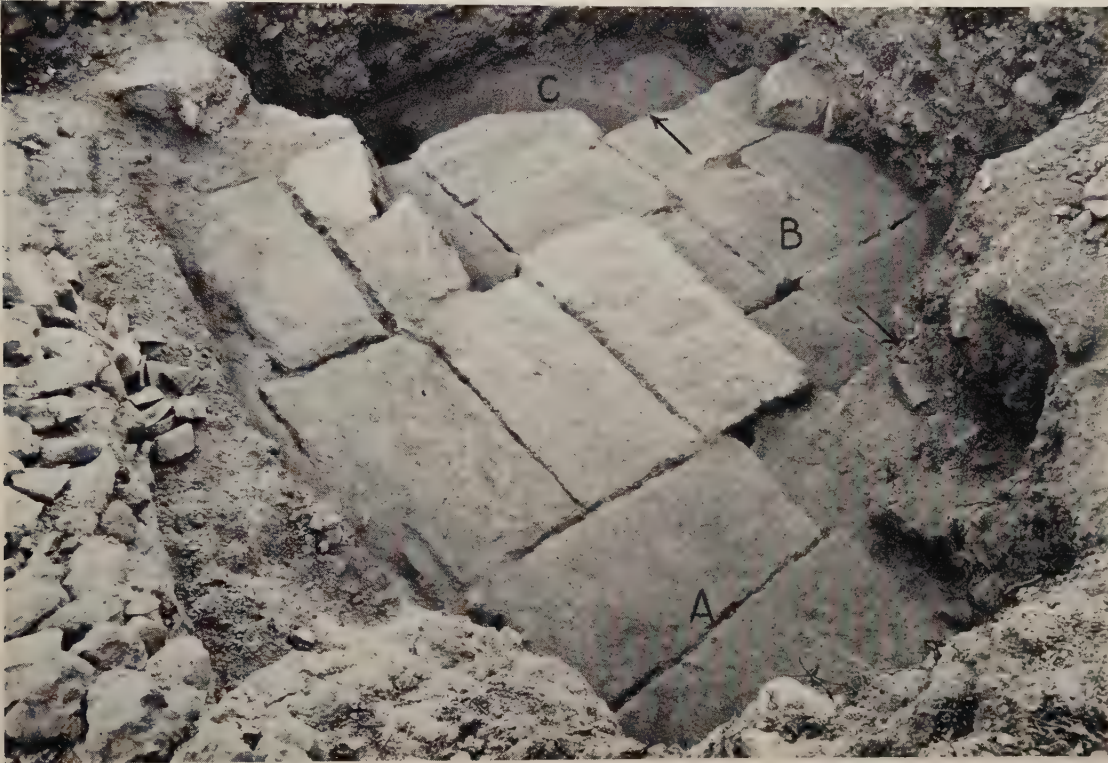


Fig. 46. Masonry of Northern Spring of Tower W6 of White Poros Wall, from the East.  
A, Buttress; B, Curtain; C, Spring of Tower

of the tower itself are 2.00 m. in thickness, and the core was filled with working chips of limestone and white poros. The curtain did not, as usual, extend along the rear face of the tower, but massive buttress-like enlargements (Fig. 46) closed the space except for an opening of some 2.50 m., which may be taken as an entrance from the ground level on the city side of the wall to the first floor of the tower, which would have been some three metres above the ground level outside. A block lies outside, but in the axis of this entrance way. In it is cut a circular bedding some 0.25 m. in diameter and 0.10 m. deep. Its purpose is uncertain, but it may have had some function in connection with a door. Here again the wall builders seem to have demolished numerous houses, which had occupied extensive rock cuttings in the side of the hill.

About 14.00 m. to the east of the corner tower is a small postern in the White Poros Wall (Figs. 47, 48, 49). On each side of the postern on the city face are large flanking buttresses. That to the east was not completely uncovered, but its projection, 1.75 m., is similar to that of the other, and it was probably of the same width, i. e., 2.63 m. The western buttress lies directly opposite a bastion-like structure which will



Fig. 47. Interior of Tower M2, from the North, Showing Graves of the 4th-5th Century after Christ. A, Southeast Corner of Tower M2. B, Buttresses of White Poros Wall, Flanking a Gateway

be discussed below. The postern is covered by later construction. The northern corner of the western jamb is visible, however. A well-defined stratum inside the door, of beaten poros chips and earth, indicates the entrance level. There is no sign of wheel traffic, nor is the surface packed hard enough to suggest that there was much foot traffic. Probably the gate was entirely for military use.

From this point eastward the wall has almost completely disappeared. Only the rock-cut beddings are visible, and some packing or irregular leveling blocks are preserved. These indications are enough, however, to show that the wall was reduced in thickness to *ca.* 1.35 m., i. e., the length of one block (a course of headers) or the





Fig. 48. Gateway Between White Poros Wall and Bastion by the Propylon, from the South. A, Buttress of White Poros Wall. B, South Face of Bastion. C, Bedding-Blocks for Door Jambs of Roman Repair. D, Masonry of Mortar Repair

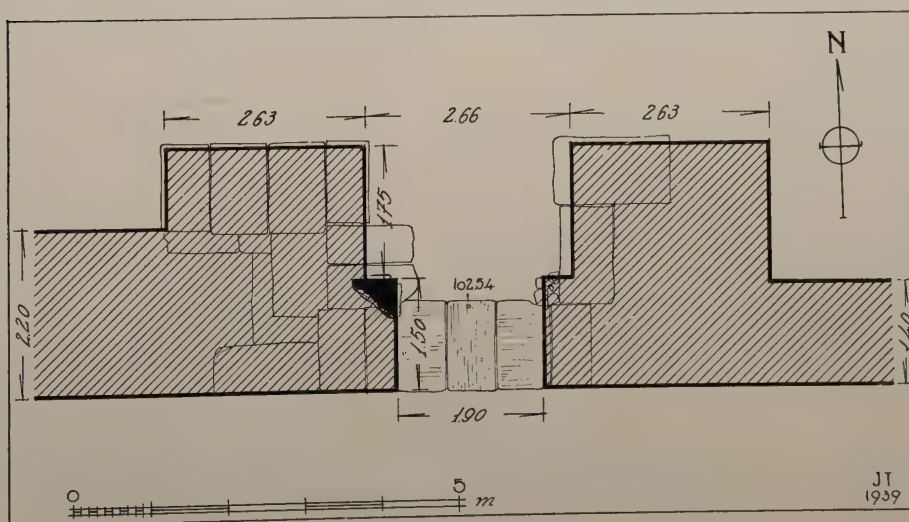


Fig. 49. Postern in the White Poros Wall Near the Southwest Corner

combined widths of two (two ranges of stretchers). The buttresses, by compensation, are arranged more closely, being spaced *ca.* 3.93 m. apart, measured on centres. Below the western part of the East Stoa are extensive workings in the bedrock (Pl. XVI, Fig. 50) that may be associated in part at least with the Poros Wall. The nature of the structure which stood on them is not clear (*infra*, p. 351, note 76). It measured 8.00 m. wide and 3.60 m. deep behind the wall. It is not part of the original scheme, for its bedding irregularly covers parts of the buttresses which were normally laid out. Just beyond this was a tower 9.60 m. wide and projecting 8.00 m. (W7), similar to the other square towers. Its well-preserved corner is a good illustration of the quality of workmanship employed in the construction of the wall (Fig. 51). From this tower the wall has been traced no more than eight or ten metres. Its exact course from here on is a matter of doubt, but it must have made contact with the earlier Compartment Wall somewhere near the tower below the eastern end of the East Stoa. Although a considerable part of the area in question was explored, no trace of the Poros Wall was brought to light, but the earth in the region has been much disturbed, both in Roman and in later times, so that it would be costly to search more exhaustively. Still, the point is a relatively small one, and our explorations have reduced the possibilities to a few, and the probabilities to that indicated on our plan (Plates XIV and XVI),—i. e., the White Poros Wall continued to the face of the Compartment Wall tower southeast of the Stoa; there may have been a postern gate along the face of the tower.

The reduced thickness of the wall in this stretch from the postern gate to the contact with the Compartment Wall would seem to require some explanation. It may be that the steep slope below was considered protection in itself. It is altogether probable that the Compartment Wall over the Stoa, which made contact with the Poros Wall also over the bastion by the postern, was still in existence at the time, and that there was a double line of defense along the southern brow of the hill forming a strongly fortified post for a small garrison. As part of a double line of fortifications, the Poros Wall may have been considered strong enough with its reduced thickness. For a clue to these arrangements, we may turn to a mass of masonry occupying the southern end of the bedding for the Propylon noticed above (*supra*, p. 286; Pl. XVI).

From the southwest corner of the East Stoa, a line of heavy wall was constructed to the western edge of the bedding for the Propylon (Fig. 52). This wall is built of headers and stretchers, with blocks measuring about 0.45-0.50 m. by 0.65-0.70 m. by 1.25-1.40 m. They are dressed in a manner similar to the blocks of the White Poros Wall, with drafted bands *ca.* 0.06-0.10 m. in width, leaving a boss with a projection of 0.02-0.08 m. The lower edges, and one lateral edge, are beveled. The material, on the other hand, is conglomerate stone. The southwestern corner is not square, but has been smoothly rounded.<sup>75</sup> The masonry was evidently originally in-

<sup>75</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 193, fig. 25.





Fig. 50. Bedding for White Poros Wall, and Earlier Cuttings, below East Stoa, from the South. A, Curtain; B, Buttresses



Fig. 51. Southwest Corner of Tower W7 of White Poros Wall, from the Southwest



tended to extend for some unknown greater distance into the bedding for the Propylon, but after the third corner block had been laid, the plan was changed (Fig. 53). The width of the wall leading from the East Stoa was fixed at *ca.* 3.40 m. or a little less along the southern face; the western face was drawn back 0.30 m. from the edge of the lower blocks, and extended south instead of north in a bastion *ca.* 3.20 m. wide and 3.55 m. long. This is not exactly at a right angle to the line of the wall; in fact,



Fig. 52. Southwest Corner of East Stoa with Fortification Wall Above

its most significant relationship seems to be that its eastern face is in line with the eastern face of the buttress flanking the White Poros postern on the west. The conglomerate bastion and the White Poros buttress are separated by an interval of *ca.* 2.00 m.

The explanation for this complex may be somewhat as follows. During the interval between the construction of the Compartment Wall and the White Poros Wall, the former fell into disrepair, or was destroyed in part (*supra*, p. 338). When the White Poros Wall was planned, it was decided to eliminate the section from the corner of the hill to the northern end, but to repair the section across the East Stoa to the Dipylon, forming a sort of fortress, when taken together with the White Poros Wall below it. In the remodeling, a massive platform was to be built in the bedding previously prepared for the Propylon, probably for artillery. To prevent injuries to people hurrying from the hill into the fortress, the corner of the platform was smoothly rounded.



Then it was decided to close the entrance to the fort by a gate, and to abandon the artillery platform. The masonry was in part relaid, to continue the line of the Compartment Wall from the Stoa foundation, and the bastion was built out to close the entrance to the fort, except for a gate. The reason for abandoning the artillery



Fig. 53. Masonry of Fortification Walls Above West End of East Stoa B and Propylon, from Northeast

platform may possibly be seen in the construction—obviously an after-thought—of a smaller platform behind the White Poros Wall below.<sup>76</sup> There is no trace of a gate between the bastion and the White Poros buttress of this period, but the later gate here (*infra*, p. 366) may have removed all traces of such.

In this work the builders may well have used the conglomerate blocks from the

<sup>76</sup> This latter seems too small and ineffectively located to make the explanation completely convincing. Mr. Keene Richards, Chief Engineer at Vassar College, suggests plausibly that the bedding was for a repair or strengthening of the wall, possibly under siege. Cadet Peter Moody of West Point suggests, perhaps more plausibly, a storeroom or guardroom. Either of these explanations would eliminate the connection with the structure on the Propylon bedding.

demolished Compartment Wall to the north, dressing the old blocks in their own style, and laying them in massive header and stretcher systems, as in the rest of the White Poros Wall. Thus we may also explain the absence of re-used material elsewhere along the White Poros Wall, directly in front of the Compartment Wall.

#### THE DIPYLON ABOVE THE GATES IN THE WHITE POROS PERIOD

Although the stretch along the Pnyx proper is the only section where the Compartment Wall was completely replaced by the White Poros Wall, there are traces of repairs by the White Poros builders along the remaining length of the earlier defense. In the trench north of the Church of St. Demetrius, we found quantities of poros fragments in the destruction debris, although there were no poros blocks *in situ*.

In the Dipylon above the Gates, we found indications that the entire gate system had been remodeled at this period (Pl. XVII, Figs. 29, 54). A buttress with a projection of 2.78 m. and a depth of 3.38 m. was set against the inner corner of the south tower in such a way as to extend beyond the corner a distance of 1.35 m., inward towards the inner gateway. This buttress is preserved only in foundation. The foundations are of miscellaneous poros blocks and re-used material, including a cornice block of limestone (*infra*, p. 382). Against the outer corner of the buttress, on the entrance side, lies a block of white poros bearing cuttings for a wooden door jamb. North of the buttress is a cutting in the earth in the middle of the passageway, from which had been removed blocks that must have held a socket receiving the vertical catch-bar of the two leaves of the door, a door stop, or a similar arrangement. In the absence of the actual blocks we are unable to determine the nature of the construction here. The center of the cutting in the earth, however, is 1.97 m. from the face of the buttress, by which we can restore the gateway with an approximate width of 3.94 m., or about the same as that of the inner gate. The total distance between the two outer towers at their inner corners would thus be *ca.* 9.50 m. In view of the lack of precision in laying out angles, the outer corners were probably not exactly the same distance apart, possibly a little more separated, judging from the fact that the outer gate is if anything wider than the inner. But the difference could not be great, and we have assumed that the interval between the outer corners would be *ca.* 9.60 m.

It will be clear from the plan of the actual state (Pl. XVII) that we were prevented by the presence of the Church from exploring the corresponding area on the opposite side of the gateway, but there can be little doubt that a precisely similar buttress and jamb bedding are to be restored on that side.

In the block of white poros which served as the foundation for the door jamb we found *in situ* the iron pivot on which the gate swung, and in a thin stratum of hard-packed earth which covered the block we found a number of iron studs and heavy nails evidently from the door itself. This material gives an unusual opportunity for studying the actual construction of the door, to which we may now briefly turn.





Fig. 54. Butterss of White Poros Period in the Dipylon, from the West

A, North Face of Tower C3  
 B, Bedding for Door Jamb  
 C, Re-used Cornice Block

D, Bedding for Bench?  
 E, East Edge of Bedding for Middle Tower  
 F, Mediaeval Butterss

The foundation block (Figs. 54, 55) projected 0.67 m. from the buttress into the passageway and was 1.12 m. long. Against the face of the buttress at the outer end is a specially prepared surface *ca.* 0.70 m. long and 0.43 m. wide, raised *ca.* 0.085 m. above the general level of the block. About 0.05 m. inside the edge of this surface toward the passage are four cuttings in the block *ca.* 0.10 m. deep; of these the outermost is *ca.* 0.37 m. long and 0.108 m. wide, lying along the outer edge of the area; the next two are *ca.* 0.15 m. long and 0.108 m. wide, along the edge toward the gate. The innermost is 0.37 m. long and 0.13 m. wide. The last cutting is open on the edge

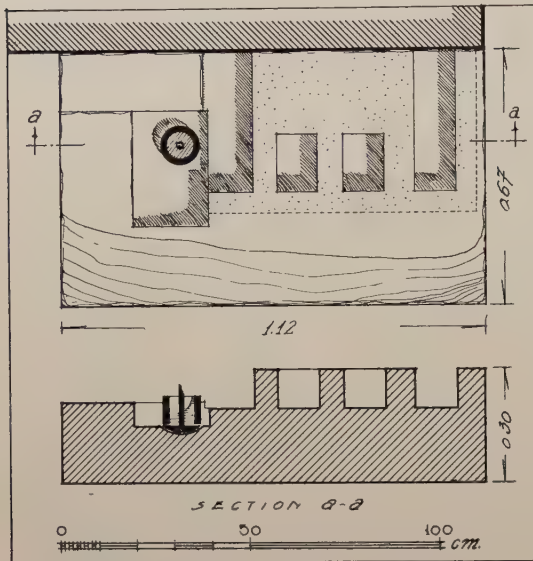


Fig. 55. Foundation for Door Jamb of White Poros Gate in the Dipylon, Plan and Section

and adjoins a fifth cutting sunk 0.065 m. below the general surface of the stone, measuring 0.304 m. by 0.195 m. In the inner corner of this cutting is a smoothly curved hollow *ca.* 0.10 m. in diameter and *ca.* 0.02 m. deep, in which we found the iron pivot, standing erect.

We are probably to assume that the raised surface was intended to receive the lower ends of two vertical timbers, mortised into the first four cuttings described. It is possible, of course, that one timber only was employed for the jamb, but this would have been enormous, 0.70 by 0.43 m., and it is perhaps more likely that two timbers, each 0.35 by 0.43 m., were used for the purpose; one towards the city, the other towards the country. (Even four timbers might have been used.) The foot of the

jamb would naturally have been raised a little above the actual traffic surface. The jamb might then have been faced with planks to prevent water seeping underneath and causing decay, and the tenons of the beam sunk into the cuttings of the stone would have kept the timbers from shifting under stress. The fifth, inmost, cutting probably held a plate of hardwood holding the pivot firm; if the pivot had been sunk in the soft stone alone, repeated openings of the door would have enlarged the opening and the door would have fallen out of plumb. It is unlikely that the plate was of metal, for in that case its disappearance, in view of the preservation of the pivot, would be inexplicable.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>77</sup> There does not seem to have been a proper sill block, as in temples and other large buildings, but only the base for the door jamb as described and a block to support a stop in the center of the passage. Thus our cuttings differ from those in normal monumental buildings, as well as in the fact that the jamb seems to have been entirely of timbers rather than of stone faced with wood



The pivot itself (Figs. 56 and 57) consists of a vertical pin preserved to a height of about 0.10 m. (it was probably at least a little longer), with a horizontal disc at the bottom 0.10 m. in diameter, its underside rounded to afford an easy resting surface. Around the pin was found an iron collar about 0.068 m. in height and 0.10 m. in diameter, with an inner diameter of 0.07 m. Apparently, then, the door was hung on a vertical timber 0.10 m. in thickness, into which the pin was fitted at the bottom, reinforced at the end by an iron collar to prevent splitting (presumably a similar pin

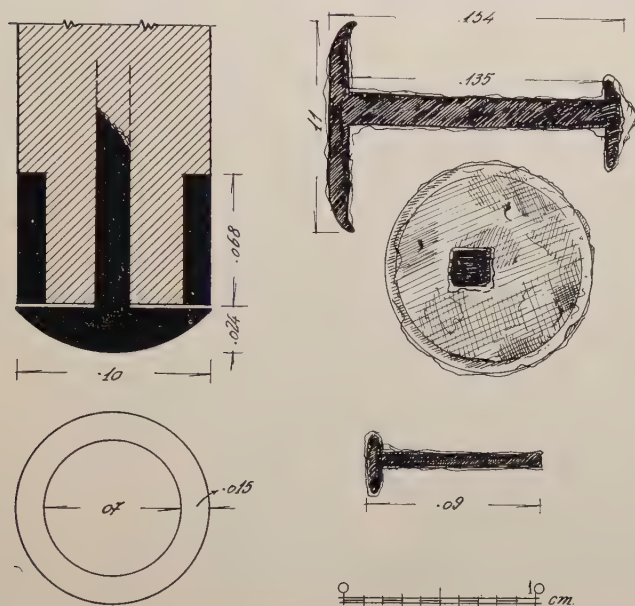


Fig. 56. Iron Fittings from Gate in Dipylon of White Poros Period: the Pivot, a Stud, and a Nail



Fig. 57. Iron Door Pivot from the Dipylon

was attached at the top).<sup>78</sup> The door itself was apparently made of planks held together with nails and studs (Figs. 56 and 58). The studs are bar-like pieces of iron 0.135 m. in length, with discs at each end. The disc at one end is relatively large, about 0.11 m. in diameter, and not always affixed symmetrically to the bar; the other disc is smaller, about 0.05 m. in diameter. Possibly these studs were arranged closely over the door, with the larger disc outside to receive the blows of missiles or rams, protecting the wood. They may, on the other hand, have been arranged in battens

or bronze. Contrast, for example, the sill of the tholos at Delphi (J. Charbonneaux, *Fouilles de Delphes*, Tome II, Fasc. 4, *Topographie et architecture, Le sanctuaire d'Athèna Pronaia*, fasc. 2, *La Tholos* [Paris, 1925], pp. 14 ff., and pl. xx). House doors at Priene (T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene* [Berlin, 1904], pp. 304 ff., fig. 323) and Delos (J. Chamonard, *Délos*, VIII, 2, *Le quartier du theatre* [Paris, 1924], pp. 261-286, fig. 152) also seem to involve sheathing rather than solid construction.

<sup>78</sup> For door pivots and sockets see *Priene*, fig. 324; *Délos*, VIII, 2, fig. 157.

fixed crosswise to the planks of the door, as in house doors. The thickness of the planks with the batten, or the double plank, would be 0.135 m., of which the planks would be probably half, or 0.0675 m. The nails, 0.09 m. in length, would be appropriate for such a thickness. The planks of house doors at Olynthos were 0.03 m. thick. The studs would probably have been made in two pieces, one a pin with a small knob or disc, the other, a large disc with a hole. The pin would be inserted through drilled holes, the disc affixed on the opposite end, and the end hammered to fill the hole in the disc tightly, and to mushroom out over the surface of the disc, thus making an almost inseparable union. The metal was hammered cold.<sup>79</sup>

A final point in regard to the construction of this door may be noted. It must have opened inward, toward the city. This follows from the position of the pivot, which is well inside and behind the jamb. This may perhaps excite some surprise, as it might have seemed more reasonable to have the door open out in order to be more easily closed in the face of surprise attackers, and possibly to be more resistant against assault. But in fact it may well have been considered desirable to have the door open inward in order to make possible rapid ingress and egress for sally parties, and with proper disposition of bars and inner props the door would be as firm against forcing one way as the other.<sup>80</sup>

A packing 0.65 m. in width, consisting largely of poros chips, was found along the face of the tower on the entrance side (Fig. 54). The shallow footing trench above this contained quantities of chips of Hymettian marble. Similar chips were also found in the destruction debris of the spur and gate walls. It seems probable, therefore, that at this time, or thereabouts, a marble bench may have been placed against the side of the gate tower, as at Halae a bench was constructed along one side of the court.<sup>81</sup>

The conclusions to be drawn from these circumstances are that the essential features of the gate were left unchanged, excepting that an outer gateway was built between the outer towers. This was evidently a thoroughgoing work of modernization, for there is no reason to believe that the earlier gate complex had suffered any catastrophe.

<sup>79</sup> For the construction of house doors, compare those from Olynthos (D. M. Robinson, W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, *The Hellenic House* [Baltimore, 1938], pp. 249 ff.). Studs for the doors were also found there, but apparently with the boss on one end only (*ibid.*, p. 257), indicating that they were driven as nails rather than riveted, as ours were. For other details of construction of house doors see Wiegand, *Priene*, and Chamonard, *Délos.*, *locc. citt.* Mr. Keene Richards, Chief Engineer at Vassar College, suggested the method of making the studs.

<sup>80</sup> Aeneas Tacticus (XXXIX) suggests a stratagem whereby trenches and barricades are built inside the gates, and a sally party leads the enemy inside the gate into this trap. Aeneas regards a portcullis as useful, but in the absence of a portcullis, as here, gates closing from within would be even more necessary.

<sup>81</sup> H. Goldman, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 394.



## WHITE POROS REPAIRS ON THE MUSEUM HILL

Although blocks of white poros, small quantities of poros chips, and other minor considerations indicate that the stretch of wall from the Dipylon to the top of the Museum Hill was repaired by the Poros Wall builders, there are no signs of very extensive work on this line. But, on the western brow of the summit are the remains of a tower of some size; its present construction seems to date from a period no earlier than that of the White Poros Wall itself, although there probably had been a Compartment Wall tower here also (C7). Several blocks of conglomerate are re-used in it, but the proponderant material is white poros. It has been much weathered so



Fig. 58. Iron Door Studs from the Dipylon

that the style of treatment cannot be determined. The significant point about this tower is that there is no bonding with the Themistoclean wall to the west, the course of which it crosses (Fig. 59). Thus the Themistoclean wall, which encloses the foot hills of the Pnyx range to the west, together with the Long Walls, must have been abandoned at this time. From this period on, the circuit of the Asty crossed the Pnyx range, and the city no longer included the hills to the west.

Finally, the presence of white-poros blocks in a reconstruction of the central tower of the Macedonian fort may be taken to mean that the fort was repaired at this time. It is possible, of course, that the poros blocks were re-used for this work from other points in the wall, by Roman or later builders, but we have no reason to suppose that this fort was used in Roman or Christian times, and if there had been an early Christian or mediaeval castle on the spot, we should expect to find more substantial remains of mortared work. In general, it seems most probable that the

fortress was repaired in the White Poros period, and that it continued to be used, perhaps by the epehebes, as late as or later than that period.

#### THE DATE OF THE WHITE POROS WALL

The date of this period can be closely determined by a combination of ceramic with literary evidence. The pottery, although abundant, comes from only two places.



Fig. 59. Southwest Face of Tower C7, from the West. A, White Poros. B, Conglomerate Blocks Re-used in Mortared Repair. C, Bedding for Themistoclean Wall

A cistern over which the curved tower (W2) on the Pnyx proper was built was evidently filled about the time of the construction of the Compartment Wall, and contained only relatively early pottery. More useful material comes from the destroyed houses near the tower west of the East Stoa (W6), and at the northernmost tower (W1). From both house sites quantities of household pottery of the better sort were removed; lamps, plates, pitchers, and many other types. Some pieces approach closely those of the Agora groups of the early second century and the material from the filling of the Stoa of Attalos, although they are not so developed and are probably a little earlier (Fig. 60).





Fig. 60. Pottery Associated with the White Poros Wall

## POTTERY FOR DATING THE WHITE POROS WALL

The following vases were all found among the debris of the houses demolished by the wall builders; (a), (d), and (e) from behind the angle tower (W6) west of the East Stoa; (b) and (c) from near the tower (W1) at the northwest end of the Pnyx Hill.

**a. Hemispherical Bowl.**

Height, 0.093 m.; diameter, 0.135 m. Fragments missing from wall. The bowl rests on three plastic mussel shells. On the wall, below the lip, are two shallow grooves from which the glaze has been scratched. Around the wall, on one side, a necklace with pendants; on the other side a garland of ivy with lesser garlands of grape between. Above the necklace: ΔΩ-ΠΟΘ---. Lettering and decoration in clay slip with white paint for the stems and berries of the ivy. Glossy black glaze.

It is tempting to restore the inscription as Δῶρον which would neatly fill out one panel and would make good sense. On the practice of giving and labeling drinking cups as gifts, cf. Wolters in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVIII, 1913, p. 199, footnote. But the surviving traces are almost conclusive in favor of a theta after the omicron; hence Δωροθέον or Δωροθέας. On the floor of a flagon from the Athenian Agora (P10806) is stamped ΔΩΡΟΘΕ[ΟΥ]. The lengthier inscrip-

tions on these ἐκπώματα γραμματικά occasionally extend over more than one panel. On the general practice, cf. above, p. 334, note 56.

**b. Terracotta Lamp.**

Height, 0.03 m.; width, 0.07 m.; length, 0.095 m. Fragments missing from wall. Watch-shaped body; nozzle flat on top; strap handle; plastic tongues on shoulder. Mould made; covered with dull black glaze.

**c. Saucer.**

Height, 0.03 m.; diameter, 0.125 m. Flat rim, slightly down-turned, with three grooves on its top. The floor is covered with thin brown glaze.

**d. Black-glazed Bowl.**

Height, 0.033 m.; diameter, 0.102 m. Angular profile. Covered inside and outside with thin glaze, mottled black and brown. Traces of stacking on its floor.

**e. Black-glazed Bowl.**

Height, 0.03 m.; diameter, 0.157 m. Shallow bowl, flat, plain rim. Thin black glaze, much flaked.

The above vases, both individually and collectively, find adequate parallels among well and cistern groups from the Athenian Agora, which may be dated from external evidence in

the late third century B.C. Of published specimens, one may compare Hellenistic Group C in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 345 ff.

The pottery, therefore, suggests a date late in the third century B.C. for the construction of the wall. This might be correlated with evidence for the work of reconstruction of the walls of the Asty and the Peiraeus by Eurykleides and Mikion. The inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 834, honors these men for their activities; although the exact date of the inscription is unknown, there are historical reasons for placing it after 229 B.C. At this time<sup>82</sup> the Athenians had just freed themselves from the rule of Macedon. They began striking new coinage, refortifying their frontiers, and reorganizing the administration of their city. It may be that this is the period of the White Poros Wall, but as the pottery suggests a date somewhat later, towards the end of the century, we must either suppose that the actual fortification took place late in this program, or that other associations must be found. For this we may turn to the very end of the century, the involved period of uncertainty, preparations against Philip in 201 B.C. and following, and the negotiations with Egypt, Pergamum, and Rome in turn. Any one of these conditions might have motivated a reconstruction and improvement of the walls, although there is no direct evidence to this effect.<sup>83</sup> In any case, we may perhaps see evidence that the White Poros Wall was finished and in use in 200 B.C. in the evidence of Livy<sup>84</sup> that the Long Walls were abandoned by this year, an alteration in the scheme of defense that we have already (*supra*, p. 357) associated with the construction of the White Poros Wall.

We have noted that the Themistoclean wall to the west of the *diateichisma* and the Long Walls were abandoned at this period. This must mean that the extended line of the walls of Pericles' day was too great to be defended by the resources of the Hellenistic city; the fears of Cleon and the statesmen of 307 B.C. were finally realized. With the constriction of the city circuit, the area on the western slopes of the Pnyx range was abandoned to the raids of passing armies, which may mean that the extensive settlements which once existed there had disappeared. These settlements, known only from the rock cuttings for the foundations of houses and buildings which once were scattered in thick profusion over the entire area, included the important deme of Melite and many sanctuaries and places of note.<sup>85</sup> Although Curtius' notion that it was the "Kranaan city," or prehistoric Athens, is definitely to be dismissed,<sup>86</sup> we do know that in earlier historic times at least until the fourth century B.C., it was an important and distinguished quarter.

<sup>82</sup> Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 206; cf. Plutarch, *Arat.*, XXXIV; Pausanias, II, viii, 6. Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, pp. 78 ff., would date Eurykleides somewhat earlier.

<sup>83</sup> Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 269-277.

<sup>84</sup> XXXI, 26.

<sup>85</sup> Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 389 ff.; above, pp. 307, 313-316.

<sup>86</sup> Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 54.



It is commonly assumed that the region had lost most of its early desirability by the middle of the fourth century B.C.<sup>87</sup> This assumption is based almost exclusively on a passage from Aeschines' speech against Timarchos (81 f.) and the scholiast thereto, in which the Pnyx is described as a place of ill repute, inhabited only by prostitutes living in wretched quarters, and visited only by men of inferior character. It is thus understood that when Xenophon (*De vectigalibus*, II, 6) speaks of uninhabited sections of the city, he is referring to this. On the other hand, there may have been other regions enclosed by the city walls which were not thickly populated, so that the only definite evidence concerning the Pnyx quarter is derived from Aeschines. We should not, however, take this author quite so seriously as is customary, for it is quite obvious that he is attempting to discredit Timarchos and may be guilty of exaggeration. It is true that his words must convey some truth, but they are not in themselves sufficient proof that the entire Pnyx had in his day degenerated into a repulsive slum. Indeed, we know that parts of Melite were desirable quarters in the time of Alexander and later, for Phocion and Epicurus evidently had mansions in the region.<sup>88</sup>

In any case it is obvious from the results of our excavations that at the opening of the last quarter of the third century there were numerous houses, evidently of some quality, on the summits of the hills. The floors which were cut through by the builders of the White Poros Wall and the pottery which was discarded by the dispossessed owners are both indicative of comfortable surroundings. Thus the depopulation of the Pnyx, if it began in the fourth century, must have been gradual, beginning at the westernmost limits of the area and moving slowly eastward. By the middle of the third century it had not yet reached the summits of the hills.

It is perhaps probable that the mid-fourth century was a low point in the reputation of the quarter, and that afterward it recovered its fortunes and became popular again during the third century. But the period of Eurykleides does mark the end of its existence as an inhabited area. Ferguson notes a shift of interest and perhaps population in these years<sup>89</sup> to the eastern and northeastern sections of the city, and it is probable that with the construction of the White Poros Wall and the abandonment of the Long Walls, the extra-mural parts of the Pnyx were quickly forsaken.<sup>90</sup> Numerous graves have been found in the region, yielding objects of late Hellenistic and early Roman date,<sup>91</sup> and there are also numbers of columnar grave monuments

<sup>87</sup> Judeich, *ibid.*, p. 86; Harrison, *Monuments and Mythology of Ancient Athens* (1890), p. 107.

<sup>88</sup> Plutarch, *Phocion*, XVIII, 6; Diog. Laert., XI, 7. Epicurus' house was visible in Cicero's time (*Ad fam.*, XIII, i, 3; *Ad Att.*, V, xix, 3). We do not know, of course, in what part of Melite these men lived. It may have been on the city slopes of the Pnyx.

<sup>89</sup> *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 237 ff.

<sup>90</sup> Of course, the outer Pnyx region may have been abandoned earlier, suggesting a withdrawal of the fortified line.

<sup>91</sup> Mr. Stavropoulos, who has supervised the excavation of some of the richer graves of the

of similar date to be seen scattered all over the district, particularly along the road to the Long Walls.

## LATE HELLENISTIC AND EARLY ROMAN HISTORY

### LATER HELLENISTIC REPAIRS

In the trench north of St. Demetrius two repairs may be detected in the Compartment Wall (Figs. 24, 25, 26). On the west (field) face of the wall three courses are preserved. The lowest of these is of the typical Compartment Wall style, from the original construction. The second is of re-used furrowed ashlar blocks, of which the faces are marked by short, parallel grooves arranged vertically. The third is of re-used tooled ashlar blocks, whose surfaces have been lightly roughened. A great mass of earth which was thrown up against the face of the wall in the first century after Christ (pp. 363-365) rests closely against the blocks of the second course, in their lower parts. A footing trench has been cut through this earth filling along the face of the wall for the insertion of the uppermost, third course of blocks. Thus it would appear that the furrowed ashlar blocks had been set in place before the deep filling of the first century after Christ had been heaped up, and that the third course was added afterwards. That the furrowed ashlar blocks are not from the original construction seems probable from the fact that re-used material was employed only for the foundations of the Compartment Wall, where observed. Thus they may represent a reconstruction of Hellenistic date, perhaps after the incursion of Sulla. That the walls were reconditioned after this time may be inferred from the fact that Caesar's legate Calenus was unable to take Athens, although he did take the Peiraeus and did much damage to the territory round about.<sup>92</sup>

### THE EARLY ROMAN PERIOD

Under Caesar and Augustus nothing of historical interest occurred in connection with the fortifications on the Pnyx, so far as we know from written record or the evidence of excavation. But at some time during the first half of the first century after Christ there took place an event which may well give us cause for speculation. The fine gateway in the saddle between the Pnyx and the Museum suffered some violent disaster, which marks the beginning of the decline which eventually resulted in the annihilation of the walls. The gates closing the outer entrance were destroyed. The ruins lay open for some time, during which the slighter remains largely disappeared, but the ensuing accumulation of gravel buried the iron studs which had been left, and the iron door pivot which had never moved from its socket. The wooden

vicinity and examined the objects found in the possession of grave robbers and confiscated by the police, confirms this statement so far as his experience goes. The results of our own investigation of graves appear below, p. 379.

<sup>92</sup> Cass. Dio, XLII, xiv, 1.



leaves of the portal would seem to have been burned. The facings of the tower wall and the courtyard, and the poros buttress, were dismantled to their foundations. Traffic, however, continued uninterrupted through the gate, for the stripped foundations of the buttress bear the marks of wheels in the form of ruts (Fig. 54). The debris from the destruction of the gate which was found in the roadway and above the ruined foundations of the bastion, produced sherds of the early first century after Christ packed hard in a much-worn roadbed. Among the glass fragments, lamps, and potsherds, were numerous bits of Arretine ware, including some with plantaform stamps; the latest lamps are of Broneer's Type XX,<sup>93</sup> with strap handles. The pottery of this deposit is uniform with that which is described below. This stratum lay directly on a lower road stratum which had been packed hard against the buttress and wall facing before the destruction. The lower road stratum contained Samian sherds and glass of the early first century after Christ. This evidence would suggest that the gate had been thrown down and ruined by violence such as one usually associates with war, and that at the height of the Roman Peace.

References to a storming of the walls of Athens in the period of Tiberius apparently do not exist. Were the histories of the wars about the succession of Nero less profuse, we might make bold to associate the incident with the movements of troops at that time. But all the armies seem to have been well occupied elsewhere. Only one mention of scenes of violence at this time comes to us out of literature. Germanicus, who had toured Greece on his way to his provinces, and had made a brilliant stay in Athens, was followed in A.D. 18 by the less popular Gnaeus Piso. Tacitus (*Ann.*, II, 55) leaves us in no doubt that his visit was unwelcome. He seems to have done nothing to make himself pleasing, but rather to have done all in his power to insult and terrify the citizens. Perhaps he was so incredibly arrogant as to enter the city with the atmosphere of the conquering besieger, burning the gates before him. That this could have been meant by Tacitus' "turbido incessu" may not be certain, but it is possible.

Yet another incident in the first century has already been mentioned in passing. In the trench north of the church of St. Demetrius (Figs. 24, 25, 26) we found an accumulation of earth 4.50 m. in depth (Strata IIa-VIIa, on the west side) that lay directly on the construction debris outside the wall and was heaped up against the outer face of the wall. A considerable quantity of pottery and lamps was found, consistent within itself and of types that occur commonly in association in the Athenian Agora, in contexts of the first half of the first century after Christ (Fig. 61).

POTTERY FROM THE DEEP FILLING OF EARTH AGAINST THE OUTER FACE OF THE CITY WALL  
NORTH OF THE DIPYLON

- |    |                                                                                      |                                                                                          |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | Terracotta Lamp of Broneer's Type XVIII.<br>Height, 0.033 m.; width, 0.058 m. Tip of | nozzle missing. Plastic rays on rim. A much<br>blurred unpierced knob on either shoulder |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

<sup>93</sup> *Corinth*, IV, ii, pp. 70 ff.



Fig. 61. Pottery from Deep Accumulation against the Face of the City Wall to the North of St. Demetrius

Vertical strap handle. Mould made. Thin metallic glaze.

**b.** Terracotta Lamp of Broneer's Type XX.

Height, 0.035 m.; width, 0.057 m.; length, 0.08 m. Handle missing. Nodules on shoulder and wall. On underside: **A**. Vertical strap handle. Thin metallic glaze.

**c.** Relief Medallion from a Plate.

Diameter of medallion, *ca.* 0.06 m. The bust of a general to right, clothed in cuirass and *paludamentum*, encircled by a wreath, all in high relief. The plate had a low base-ring. Fine buff clay covered top and bottom with thin brown glaze.

In addition to the pieces illustrated, mention should be made of two signed bases from Arretine plates. The one is stamped **AVIL** (= Avillius), for whom cf. Iliffe, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, VI, 1936, p. 29. The other is signed, in *planta pedis*, **CN. A. A.**, i. e., Cn. Ateius Mahetis, for whom cf. Iliffe, *loc. cit.*, p. 39. These were accompanied by numerous unsigned fragments

of Arretine and by much contemporary eastern terra sigillata.

In determining the date of this material we may note that the lamp (a) is a debased version of a type which had its beginning in the third century B.C. It was still in common use in the early first century B.C. (cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 462), and continued to be made into the early first century after Christ, probably a little later. Among the most popular successors, or, rather, late developments, is the type represented by (b). The present example is an early specimen of its kind. Of the Arretine potter Avillius, Iliffe notes "Augusto-Tiberian," and of Cn. Ateius Mahes, "Augustan." The planta-form stamp employed on our plate is most probably post-Augustan; cf. Iliffe, *loc. cit.*, pp. 19 ff. The plastic medallion may well be a portrait of Augustus. It is one of a not uncommon class of relief decoration represented by recent finds elsewhere on the Pnyx, in the Athenian Agora, and at the Dipylon. A number of heads appear to be of Julio-Claudian princes. The developed bust form of our piece might appear to urge a much later date. This medallion,



however, is obviously in the tradition, not of monumental sculpture, but rather of the relief *emblemata* in clay and metal which are common from early Hellenistic times onward. Among them busts of the length of the present piece are found as early as the third century B.C. If coins may be adduced as safe parallels, they would suggest a date scarcely earlier than the

middle of the first century. The *paludamentum* over the cuirass appears first on coin busts of Nero. Nothing would argue a later date. (Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I, p. lxiv, observes that the *paludamentum* is first found under Galba. But cf. his pl. 41, 1.)

Mixed in with this earth, particularly near the bottom, were quantities of bones of animals, predominately of horses. The fill has every indication of having been heaped up against the wall in one operation, the perceptible divisions of earth in uneven strata being attributable to the different sources of supply utilized. Why it should have been piled there may well give cause for wonder. The common reason for raising mounds against fortification walls is to scale the wall or to bring up engines of warfare. But, in spite of the destruction of the gate in the dipylon below, there is still no reason to believe that Athens was besieged in the early empire. Moreover, although the presence of bones of horses in the fill might suggest that cavalry or draft animals had been killed in the assaults on the wall and had been thrown in a heap to raise the height more speedily, the complete absence of harness or weapons of any kind in this fill would be almost certain proof that it was a peaceful work. It is difficult to imagine that no arrows, no great stones, no sling-bullets, no implements of war at all, should have fallen into so great a heap of earth if it was brought in cartload by cartload under the very hands of defenders. No signs or records of war seem available to explain this work as an incident in an assault on the city.

It might seem possible that a supplementary wall was built in front of the old wall, and the intervening space filled with earth.<sup>94</sup> But there is still no very cogent evidence from other sources to account for so substantial a renovation of the Athenian fortifications at the time, and as we shall see in the following paragraph, there is actually contrary evidence.

Although we are not yet in a position to understand the situation fully, by coincidence evidence is being accumulated at various points along the city walls which may eventually clarify the problem. At the corner of Aristeides and Sophocles Streets in Athens, or *ca.* 1000 m. northeast of the Kerameikos, the excavations for the construction of a new building have laid bare a stretch of the city wall and the area in front of it.<sup>95</sup> Here the great ditch or moat in front of the walls was also filled up

<sup>94</sup> Cf. the construction of the walls at Pompeii: *Monumenti Antichi*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 160-162; fig. 12; pl. II.

<sup>95</sup> This is contiguous to a section of the same wall illustrated by Judeich, *op. cit.*, pl. 4a; cf. his pp. 128, 134. It was examined by the Greek Archaeological Service represented by J. Travlos. A brief notice appears in the *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1940, p. 165. The construction of a huge water basin in front of the walls in the Kerameikos itself (*Arch. Anz.*, 1940, p. 314) would have

during the early first century after Christ. The situation is not precisely comparable; the reasons for filling a moat may be, but are not necessarily, the same as those for raising a mound before a wall. One might suggest that the Roman Peace inspired (or perhaps enforced) a "disarmament movement" in Athens; that the fortifications were dismantled or otherwise rendered ineffective. The filling over the East Stoa, dating as it does from this same period, might then be part of the same program; and the destruction of the gate in the Dipylon above the Gates might also be associated, conceivably, with the same project, although one would have expected the workmen to collect such useful objects as the iron pivot and the studs. Nevertheless, the suggestion of siege is so strong that the possibility of such an event, however surprising at this time, cannot be ignored. Some of the phenomena noted above might have been associated directly with such hypothetical siege operations, others with the subsequent cleaning and reconstruction.

#### THE ROMAN REPAIR

During earlier investigations, evidence concerning work on the city walls about the end of the second century after Christ was found in such abundance that the original construction of the defenses was put in that period. We have seen reason for placing this construction at an earlier date, but the ceramic evidence still stands as proof of a fairly extensive reconditioning of the fortifications at this later time. In addition to this, we have further information. In the area along and behind the East Stoa, there seems to have been some reorganization, though how extensive is uncertain. In the inner gate that gave access to the area between the White Poros Wall and the wall along the Stoa, between the postern buttress of the Poros Wall and the Conglomerate bastion, a proper gateway was established at this time, whether there had been one before or not (Pl. XVI, Figs. 62, 47, 48). Foundations of re-used blocks of limestone and marble were set down through the Hellenistic ground level indicated by the stratum of white-poros working chips. On these foundations were erected an inner and an outer gateway, in line with the inner and outer faces, respectively, of the Poros Wall buttress. Of this gateway are still preserved the door jambs against the face of the bastion; those against the buttress have disappeared, but the space between would have been about 0.90 m. The re-used blocks of this foundation seem originally to have been sill blocks, but they were cut and broken in two, so that the cuttings in them cannot have been re-used by the repairers. They may have belonged to a White Poros period gate. The White Poros Wall below the East Stoa may have been completely abandoned at this time, although no definite evidence on this point is available.

blanked out the fortification, and resulted in a similar nullification of its value, but this is apparently dated in the second century or later.



The Dipylon above the Gates was radically remodelled (Pl. XVII, Fig. 63). The buttresses of the White Poros builders had, as noted above, disappeared in the first century after Christ. The walls of the court on the city side may have been partially dismantled in the years after the catastrophe of that time, but the evidence for the date of their demolition is not clear. We may perhaps surmise that the inner



Fig. 62. Area of Tower M2, from the Southeast. A, Southeast Inner Corner of Tower M2. B, South Face of Bastion. C, Buttress of White Poros Wall. D, Bedding-Blocks for Door Jambs of Roman Repair. E, Graves of 4-5th Centuries after Christ

gateway did not figure in the late Roman disposition of the defenses at this point, because the outer gate was so heavily protected. An excavation was made in the space between the two outer towers, cutting across the road whose bed had been formed during the first and second centuries. No masonry is preserved in the pit, but the dressed bedding can be identified opposite the face of the south tower, 2.35 m. distant. Here was built, apparently, a small tower narrowing the entrance between itself and the old south tower. The new passage may have been as narrow as 2.35 m., as suggested on Figure 63, but it may have been more if the masonry above the lowest

foundation course, and particularly that of the superstructure, was contracted within the outer boundary of the foundation. In fact, we may suspect that the actual opening at ground level was about 3.00 m. This may be inferred from a fragment of a large marble sill, 1.45 m. in width, and preserved to a length of *ca.* 1.50 m., re-used in a still later period of the Dipylon (Fig. 64). Originally, this sill was probably 3.00 m. in length, if a cutting at the present broken end may be taken to mark the original centre. This sill is approximately the width of a cutting in the earth which extends between

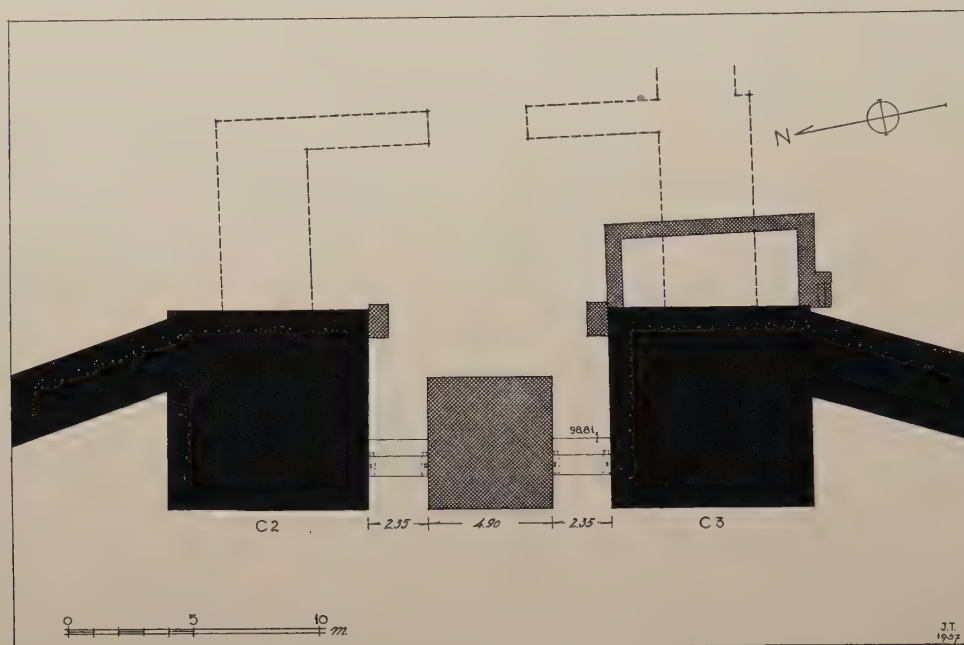


Fig. 63. Plan of the Dipylon in the Roman and Mediaeval Periods

the original south tower and the tower in the centre, about 1.35 m. behind the outer face of the south tower. The bottom of the cutting in the earth is *ca.* 1.40 m. below the top of the road level which goes with this reconstruction and the period of use of the Roman gate. The cutting in the earth most probably was made for the reception of a threshold, resting on an underpinning of blocks since removed and replaced by earth in mediaeval times. As the half-threshold described above would fit the cutting in the earth perfectly, it may well have been the threshold of the period we are now considering. Hence the passageway would have been about 3.00 m. in width, and the superstructure of the centre tower would have been withdrawn some 0.65 m. from the extreme edge of the bedding for the foundation.

The dimensions of the new tower cannot be fixed without excavation in the churchyard to the north. Presumably, however, its western face was either in line



with those of the earlier flanking towers, or drawn back within that line, but in any case did not project outward. If the superstructure of the inner face of the tower was withdrawn from the edge of the foundation by the same distance as that along the side, then the tower would have measured between *ca.* 4.50 m. east and west, if flush with the flanking towers, and *ca.* 3.10 m., if flush with the outer edge of the lintel. In width, north and south, it may have continued to join the north flanking tower solidly, or more plausibly, perhaps, have stood exactly in the centre with openings on two sides. If so, its width would have been *ca.* 3.60 m. In this case it may have been exactly square, for the face of the tower would surely have projected *ca.* 0.50 m. beyond the outer edge of the threshold; or, of course, it may have measured *ca.* 3.60 m. in width to as much as *ca.* 4.50 m. in length.<sup>96</sup>

We found no road bed to be associated exclusively with this construction period, a fact which must be counted as extraordinary. The gravel which had gathered on top of the debris following the destruction of the gate in the first century after Christ represents a gradual accumulation, and was cut through, apparently on the construction of the new tower. The surface was not modified or repaved, but without change in level continued as the road bed for many centuries. That the road was little used at this time is suggested by the narrowing of the passageway.

Along the curtain there are numerous repairs which may be attributed to the same period. The most radical of the changes made in the older walls took place at the first tower north of the southwest corner of the White Poros Wall (W5). Here the Hellenistic construction seems to have completely disappeared, for the line of wall was re-established not more than

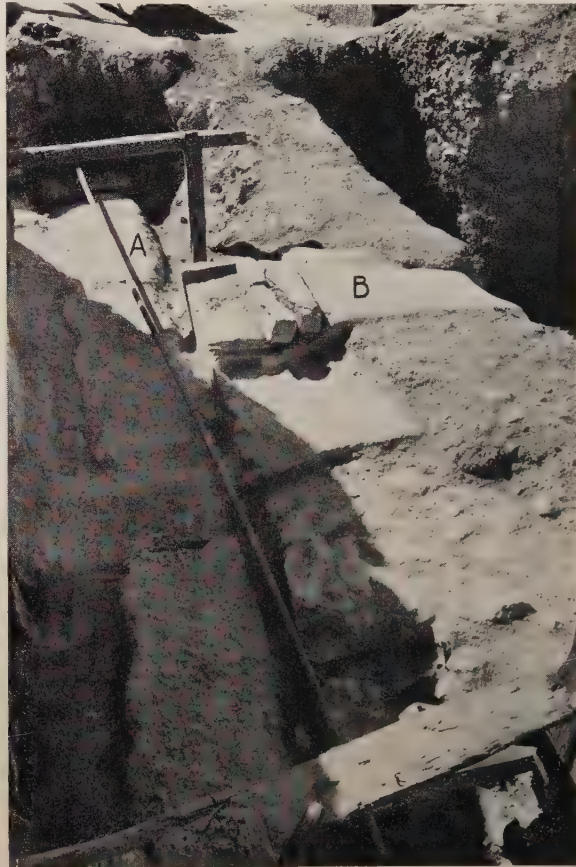


Fig. 64. Threshold of Byzantine Gate in Dipylon, from the East. A, North Face of South Gate Tower (C3). B, Broken Threshold as Found

<sup>96</sup> Conceivably the structure was originally not a tower, but a large monument like those in the Dipylon at the Kerameikos. (Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 136, plan, fig. 10). But the proximity in date to the Roman Repair renders it probable that it was a tower, and part of the new fortifications.

1.00 m. in front of the old. A curtain approximately 3.00 m. in width was constructed in front of the earlier wall. The only remains of the reconstruction *in situ* are re-used blocks of white poros. The width is determined only by traces of mortar, which belong probably to the later reconstruction of the wall to be described below (p. 374).

For the dating of this repair we have little evidence more precise than the pottery from the previous excavations.<sup>97</sup> Some sherds from the ruins of houses, apparently demolished during the work on this repair, were found in the trench north of St. Demetrius (Fig. 26, III b-V b); this pottery may belong to the first half of the second century after Christ. From the new gate tower at the Dipylon, however, we have a few sherds from a place that may be counted as significant. Between the eastern, inner face of this tower and the underpinning of the White Poros outer gate buttress (Pl. XVII) was a deposit of firm earth about 0.70 m. in width and some 0.75 m. in depth. This earth would seem certainly to have been filled into the footing trench dug for the new tower. From it came a few sherds whose date must be set at least as late as the middle of the second century after Christ. Some of the pottery is of the variety that is also common in the early third-century deposits of the Agora, but has a fairly long period of use without much development.<sup>98</sup> Thus this small deposit contemporary with the Roman repair may be dated, so far as present knowledge goes, from the middle of the second century to the middle of the third century after Christ.

On the other hand, an enormous mass of pottery was found spread out over the pillaged footings of the walls of the court of the Dipylon, and heaped on the ruins of the south gate tower (C3) itself. The stratification did not indicate clearly whether the filling over the spur walls was contemporary with their destruction or not; and the deposits over the gate tower must certainly have been disturbed, since it is known that this tower was at least partly cleared once before in modern times. The stratification of the deposit over the tower was extremely confused and anomalous, as though the earth and the potsherds had been dumped in by cartloads. Under these circumstances the interpretation of the indications is quite difficult, especially since it is known for other reasons that the tower was reconstructed at least once later than this Roman period. In spite of all this, however, the overwhelming amount of pottery from the deposit was perfectly consistent in date, and many pieces in excellent preservation and of fine quality were discovered. The typical pieces find perfect parallels in groups of pottery found in the Athenian Agora in accumulations which would seem to have gathered after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 and which are accompanied by coins of the second half of the third century after Christ (Fig. 65).

<sup>97</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 196, figs. 28, 29.

<sup>98</sup> Mr. Arthur Parsons, of the Agora Staff, has kindly lent his experience to the consideration of this pottery.



## POTTERY FROM THE LOOSE FILLING ABOVE THE RUINED FOUNDATIONS OF THE DIPYLON

**a.** Bowl of Late Roman A Ware.

Height, 0.042 m.; diameter, 0.118 m. A hemispherical bowl with low base-ring and broad flat rim. Hard, fine red clay, with polished red surface, both inside and outside. On this ware, cf. Waage in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 293 ff.

**b.** Pitcher.

Preserved height, 0.09 m.; diameter, 0.078

m. The mouth is broken away. High base, piriform body. Pale yellow clay covered with thin black paint on which is drawn in white a band of spirals above a floral wreath.

**c.** Lamp of Broneer's Type XXVII.

Height, 0.026 m.; width, 0.066 m.; length, 0.075 m. Rays on discus; underside, within two circular grooves, the signature: ΤΡΕΙ | ΜΟΥ. Pale yellow clay, unglazed, much flaked.

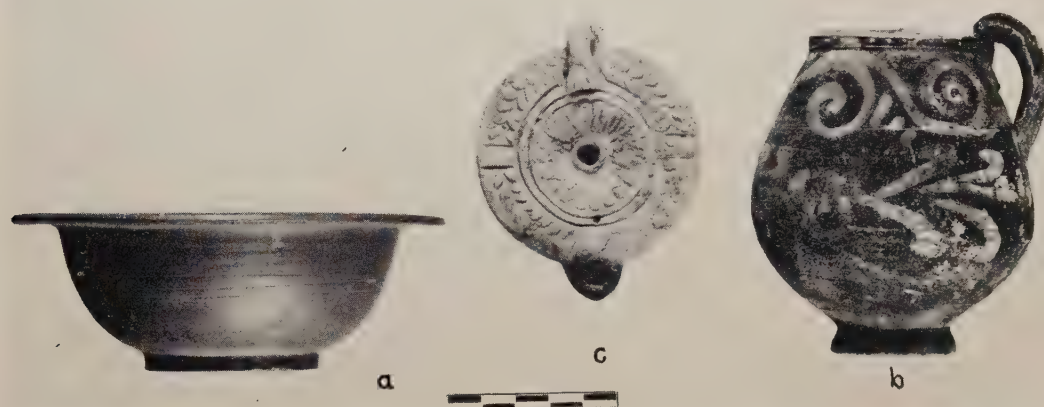


Fig. 65. Specimens of Pottery from Loose Filling above Foundations of South Tower of Dipylon

According to the tentative conclusions which we have drawn concerning the relation of this deposit to the history of the Dipylon above the Gates, the spur walls surrounding the court were probably dismantled in the course of the Roman repair; this is indicated by the fact that the gate was advanced to a position between the new tower and the outer gate towers. The outer towers themselves, then, must have been demolished at a later date, possibly damaged by the Herulians, and the whole area became the site for a refuse dump, during which time quantities of the pottery just discussed were deposited (*infra*, p. 372, note 101).

As to the absolute date of the Roman repair, we are not much nearer a definite answer than we were before. Then it was found impossible to choose between an hypothetical restoration of the walls after the invasion of the Costoboci in A.D. 170 and the recorded reconstruction under Valerian, in A.D. 253. If anything, the new pottery at hand would seem to be later in date than the group recovered from the original excavations, but knowledge of Roman pottery of this era will not as yet

permit us to date our present small groups definitely on one side or the other of the period around A.D. 170. So far as the ceramic evidence goes, then, we are at liberty to choose between the two dates.

There are several considerations which lead us to prefer the later period for the reconstruction of the wall. In the first place, as pointed out before, our authors state definitely that from the time of Sulla to that of Valerian, the walls had lain disregarded and unkept under the Roman Peace.<sup>99</sup> Of these authors, Zosimus at least was writing within a relatively short time of the events concerned, early in the fifth century. It is not probable, although of course it is possible, that he ignored a repair of the late second century. But if we choose the period after the Costoboci for our repair, we postulate a reconstruction unnoticed by the ancient authors, and on the other hand can produce no candidate for the repair under Valerian which is definitely reported by them. This argument gains weight from the fact that the much-disputed "Valerian Wall" north of the Acropolis and in the Agora is now dated shortly after the Herulian invasion of A.D. 267.<sup>100</sup> On the whole, although our evidence will still not permit us to assert definitely, we suggest that the Roman repair of the Compartment Wall on the Pnyx took place under Valerian, or *ca.* A.D. 253-260. This system of defense must have been dismantled in part, as at the Dipylon, a few years later, perhaps as a result of the Herulian invasion.<sup>101</sup>

#### THE LATER PERIODS

Perhaps the walls were stormed by the Herulians in A.D. 267; perhaps they were not even defended; certainly by the opening of the fourth century they were not in use. In front of the postern gate between the White Poros Wall and the bastion of the Compartment Wall there was established a small family cemetery which during the passing years was filled with burials layer on layer (Figs. 47, 62). Over twenty graves were opened; others doubtless exist in the area untouched. Another plot was dedicated to the dead in the corner between the south outer tower (C3) of the Dipylon and the adjoining curtain (Fig. 33). Poor people they must have been, whose remains were interred so modestly along and even in the path of occasional carts and infrequent pedestrians, but the position of the graves surely indicates that few people passed, and fewer lived in the vicinity. In the meantime the fortifications must have greatly decayed, and shortly after A.D. 267 the line of principal defense was moved back to the wall in the Agora and around the Acropolis, formerly called the Valerian Wall (see above). Yet numerous habitations must have lain outside this inner wall, with

<sup>99</sup> Zosimus, I, 29; Zonaras, XII, 23; Syncellus, p. 381; cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 705 ff.

<sup>100</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 329 f., 334.

<sup>101</sup> The blocks from the Dipylon and other parts of our Valerian wall may have been used in the construction of the post-Herulian wall in the Agora and around the Acropolis, and the dump described above deposited in the resultant pits.



the old outer circuit, however imperfect, as their only defense, if Alaric in A.D. 396 could have had the latter in mind as the fortification of Athens.<sup>102</sup>

#### EARLY CHRISTIAN REPAIR

At a later date we find the entire system of fortifications completely rebuilt and renovated. The curtain at all points was restored according to its needs, the towers were strengthened, and new towers were built where the situation required.

The remains of the Compartment Wall on the northwest slope of the Hill of the Nymphs show traces of mortared construction, indicating that the curtain was repaired in this stretch. A tower (M1) was built against the wall, at the point where the wall makes a slight bend. At all points along the White Poros Wall the destruction debris included many fragments of mortar, and masses of rubble held in cement, while bits of mortared construction are actually preserved *in situ* at various places. The second line of wall established by our Valerian repair in front of the White Poros curtain at the tower west of the southwest corner of the West Stoa (W5, p. 369) was restored in mortared work, and all of the original White Poros towers along the west front were repaired. The round tower on the Museum must have been nearly razed by this time; some of the blocks which still remained were brought into line to form a square tower near the southern edge of the old structure. Mortar in the destruction debris of the other towers indicates that they too were rebuilt.

Probably the most elaborate structure of this period which we have examined is a sort of tower-keep at the postern gate in the White Poros Wall, in the angle between the bastion and the masonry over the propylon bedding (Pl. XVI; Figs. 47, 62). This tower (M2) was erected on the site of the cemetery mentioned above; it was partially cleared in the earlier excavation,<sup>103</sup> but some supplementary facts are now available. The course of the wall now, as in the Valerian period, ran across the bastion from the White Poros Wall to the Compartment Wall on the Stoa. The gateway at the end of the bastion was filled with a double wall of rubble and mortar, and a wall about 1.00 m. in width was built eastward along the line of the White Poros Wall, covering the postern, for a distance of about 4.50 m. This was joined to the wall over the propylon bedding by another wall *ca.* 8.80 m. in length. The room thus formed was divided by a cross-wall<sup>104</sup> running eastward from a square buttress at the end of the bastion; another buttress was built in the angle between the bastion and the face of the upper wall. The cross-wall was probably of wood, for there are no traces of masonry, nor is the footing trench of a depth comparable to those of the other walls. The buttress at the end of the bastion may have supported the end of the wooden

<sup>102</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 200; Zosimus, V, 5.

<sup>103</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 195.

<sup>104</sup> Omitted from the new plan to avoid obscuring the earlier situations.

beam on which the wall was erected. This structure is not simply a tower, for it flanks only the curtain to the east. It is, moreover, larger in over-all ground plan than the other towers of the period. It would seem to have been a sort of donjon or keep, perhaps for storage.

The masonry of the Hellenistic wall around the bastion had by this time become



Fig. 66. Masonry of the Mortar Repair in Tower M5

much weathered, with gaping holes at some of the joints; these were filled with rubble and concrete, which was finished off with a coat of plaster. Probably at this time the curtain of the Compartment Wall over the eastern foundations of the East Stoa was filled with rubble concrete, which still remains. The tower midway along the face of the East Stoa (M3) has been described in the earlier article, as well as that in the angle to the east (M4). The present excavations have determined the plan of still another tower (M5), 6.60 m. in width, built in the angle of the wall beside the Compartment Wall tower southeast of the Stoa; a peculiarity of the new tower is the unusual thickness of the side walls: *ca.* 1.40 m. The curtain at this point fell on the line of the Compartment Wall, but was completely rebuilt with re-used material of all sorts, including unfinished column drums, all set in a strong mortar (Fig. 66). In the trench north of St. Demetrius we found quantities of mortar and rubble masonry in the destruction debris.

The Valerian tower in the Dipyron (Pl. XVII, Fig. 63) was completely rebuilt; there is mortar of the later period adhering to the bed-rock in the bottom of the foundation pit, and a heavy buttress was built against the northeastern corner of the south gate tower. The gate must have been made defensible, but there is a surprising lack of other indications of mortared construction on the gate towers. Along the rear face of the south tower there is an irregular room surrounded by a wall of small stones and mortar, but this wall is only 0.60 m. thick (in places 0.50 m.) and probably dates from a still later period (*infra*, p. 378).



At numerous points on the stretch up the Museum Hill were indications of mortar repairs, consisting as before of bits of mortared construction and particles of mortar in the destruction debris. Each of the original towers was rebuilt, and a late tower (M6-9) was inserted halfway between each pair of original towers, so that the system as restored had towers at intervals of 35 to 40 metres.<sup>105</sup> These towers are uniform in plan and construction. They project *ca.* 5.00 m. from the curtain, are *ca.* 6.00 m. wide, and their walls are *ca.* 1.00 m. thick (Fig. 67). The great corner tower above the Dipylon (C4) seems to have been repaired without change of plan; a hard-beaten layer of mortar around the edges of the original walls indicates that these were restored in their original form. The round tower (C5), like that on the white-poros section, was reorganized and a square tower was erected on its foundations. Above this point, rubble concrete was poured between the stone facings of the Compartment Wall; the concrete is still to be seen, although the facing blocks have disappeared. The rectangular tower (C6) of the earlier circuit which follows next above the round tower must have been almost invisible at the time. Although its southern wall is still preserved in part to a height of two or three courses, this masonry must have been underground, for it was



Fig. 67. Tower M7, from the North. Vertical Arrows Mark Corners of Tower.  
C, Compartment Wall

not used as a foundation for the later structure. The new south wall was built slightly inside the older, of re-used material, including an inscription used as a corner block. This inscription is cut on a statue base, now broken, but designed to support two standing bronze figures. The letters are well cut, and of late Hellenistic date.<sup>106</sup>

No traces of mortared repair were noticed on the Macedonian fort, but along the line of the circuit wall on the peak of the hill are numerous such remains. East of the monument of Philopappos the wall was strengthened by a tower placed not on the crag formerly occupied by the classical tower, but in a hollow just to the west. On the crag itself there are traces of mortar only on the edge of the cliff where the descent to the lower slopes begins. This is sufficient indication that the classical works on the crag were in good condition and that they were used as a castle by the mortar

<sup>105</sup> We have noted above (pp. 309-324) the possibility that the original towers were also only 35.00-40.00 m. apart. In that case the later towers would simply have replaced the earlier in all cases, but this closer spacing for the early towers has not been proven, and the late towers were oblivious of the plan of the hypothetical early towers.

<sup>106</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, p. 3, no. 4.

builders who added a point of vantage to the only unoccupied spot they could find. Some forty metres below the crag we were able in the time at our disposal to uncover some of the remains of still another late mortar-repair tower, built against a badly destroyed section of the Themistoclean circuit. Finally, some thirty-five metres below this, we found slight remains of what was possibly another such tower, although we were unable to examine it.

The evidence for the dating of the Mortar Repair consists chiefly of material from the burial plots mentioned above. The burial plot by the postern in the White Poros Wall is certainly earlier than the Mortar Repair tower which was built over it. The walls of the tower are set down through the strata in which the graves occur, and the lowest edge of that part of the wall intended to be seen lies level with the top of the stratum covering the highest graves (Figs. 47, 62). The burial jars in which the children were buried, the vases and coins found in the larger graves, indicate that the graveyard was in use during the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ. The pottery in the fill covering the burials is similar. From the deep trench north of St. Demetrius (Figs. 24, 25, 26) we were able to clear the footing trench for the late repair, and from its filling of black chips came sherds similar to those found in the Athenian Agora in deposits of the early sixth century after Christ. Thus we feel no hesitation in referring the work to the period of Justinian, A.D. 527-565, whose activities in fortifying the Greek cities south of Thermopylae are attested by Procopius.<sup>107</sup>

#### MEDIAEVAL REPAIR

Nor is this the end. The Dipylon above the Gates gives evidence of having been repaired as late as the twelfth century after Christ. Above the road stratum which produced sherds of the first and second centuries after Christ, and which has been supposed to have continued in use during the Valerian and Justinian periods, there was a filling of loose earth containing sherds of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>108</sup> The decorated pottery consisted almost exclusively of plates and bowls executed in a fairly painstaking sgraffito technique, and of bowls with designs painted in green and manganese (Fig. 68).

#### POTTERY FOR DATING THE BYZANTINE REPAIR

- a.** Fragmentary Plate with Sgraffito Decoration.  
Maximum Dimension, 0.109 m. Heavy base-ring; floor rising gently toward rim. On the floor, an eagle to right with spirals in the field. Gritty, pale yellow clay; white sizing on inside and outside; the inside covered with yellowish

transparent glaze. (Cf. Frantz, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 429 ff., 441, fig. 8, A 50.)

- b.** Fragmentary Bowl with Sgraffito Decoration.  
Maximum Dimension, 0.107 m. Low base-ring; shallow bowl. On the floor, an eagle

<sup>107</sup> *De aedific.*, IV, 2 (B 272).

<sup>108</sup> Miss Alison Frantz of the Agora Staff, and Professor Charles H. Morgan II, then Director of the American School, examined the pottery and kindly offered this opinion.



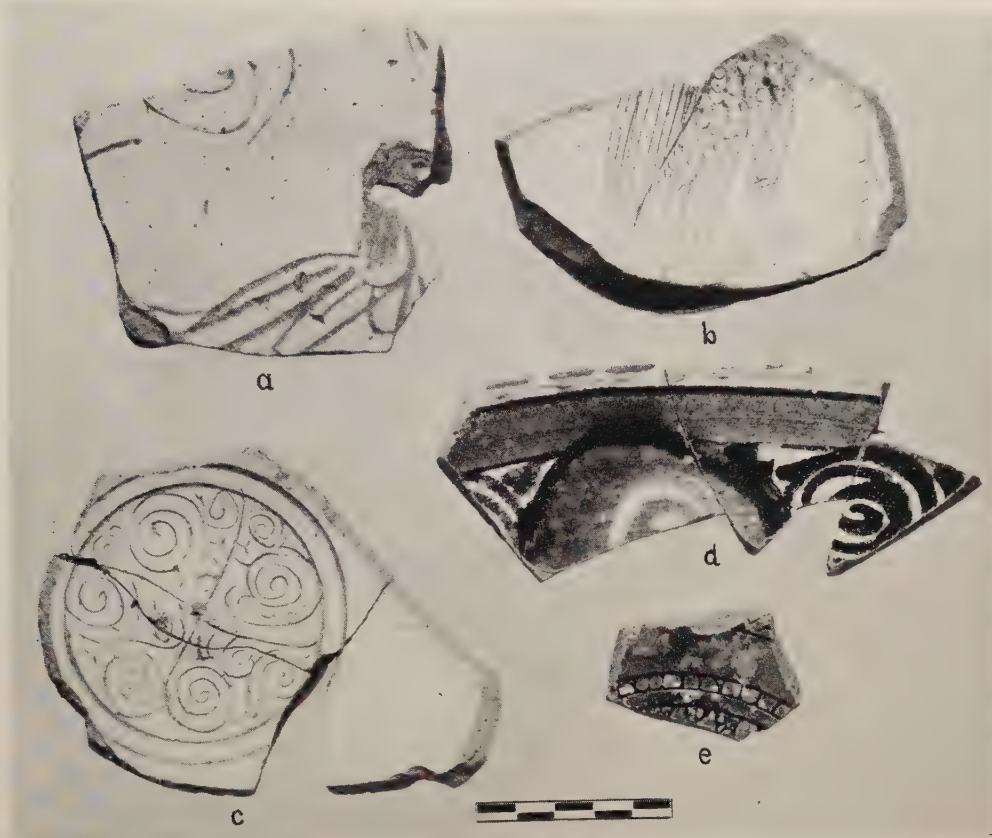


Fig. 68. Specimens of Pottery Associated with the Byzantine Repair of the Dipylon

standing to right, with scrolls in the field. Gritty red clay covered with white sizing on inside and outside; the inside covered with yellowish transparent glaze. (Cf. Frantz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 429 ff., 441, fig. 8, A 54.)

**c. Fragmentary Bowl with Sgraffito Decoration.**

Maximum Dimension, 0.12 m. Heavy base-ring with steep wall bent in toward the (missing) rim. The floor medallion is filled with an arabesque design. Gritty buff clay covered with a white sizing on the inside and the upper part of the outside. Transparent yellowish glaze on inside only. (Cf. Frantz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 429 ff., 440, fig. 2, A 9.)

**d. Fragmentary Bowl with Painted Decoration.**

Diameter, 0.28 m. A rim fragment from a

hemispherical bowl with square lip. On the inside, a spiral design; on the rim, crossbars. Gritty, pale yellow clay covered with white sizing on the inside and on the upper part of the outside. The design painted in green and manganese overlaid with transparent yellowish glaze.

**e. Fragmentary Plate with Sgraffito Decoration.**

Maximum Dimension, 0.05 m. A fragment from the floor. The medallion was filled with an arabesque design, and surrounded by at least two bands of geometric design. Gritty buff clay covered with white sizing inside and outside; green glaze on the inside. (Cf. Frantz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 429 ff., 445, fig. 7, A 31.)

A similar filling was found in the cutting in the earth which had been made for the threshold of the Valerian gate. Thus that threshold, with its foundations,

must have been uprooted at this time. Some 0.40 m. above the Roman road level was a hard-packed road bed which is the top of the mediaeval filling. This road crossed the broken marble threshold (Figs. 28, 64), which for this period was lying on the late filling without foundations. Whether or not the sill in question was used by the earlier builders, it was certainly employed as a sill in the twelfth century.

At the northeastern corner of the outer south gate tower (C3) is a small buttress 1.30 m. in length and 0.80 m. in width, built of rubble and mortar (see Plate XVII and Figs. 28, 54, 63). It was set down in a footing trench which produced again sherds of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. At this period, too, was probably built the room to the east of the tower. It is irregular in shape: the north wall is 3.20 m. long; the south wall, 3.60 m.; the east wall, 8.30 m., measuring about 0.50 m. in thickness. The walls are of small stones set in mortar similar to that of the buttress.

These repairs, from the evidence of the pottery, must have taken place about or after the middle of the twelfth century after Christ. Although no positive indications of repairs of such a date were found elsewhere along the circuit, it would seem strange that the gate alone should have been made defensible, if the circuit was not. It is, of course, possible that the gate was rebuilt as an outwork or toll post, but the presence of the sill suggests a more elaborate structure. No historical events of the mid-twelfth century are known to suggest a background for this reconstruction. The defense of Athens by Akominatos in the period about the end of the twelfth century seems to have been confined to the Acropolis, although it is possible that on his advent to the city he took steps to recondition the outer circuit.<sup>109</sup> A theory in many respects more attractive would suggest that the repairs in question date from the early thirteenth century. Shortly after A.D. 1207 the Frankish duke, de la Roche, whose principal seat was at Thebes, established a sub-residence in Athens. It might well seem plausible,<sup>110</sup> at least, that he desired to strengthen and expand the fortifications of his new fief, the ancient city.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, 1908, p. 32.

<sup>110</sup> Unfortunately for this interpretation, the pottery, in the opinion of the experts, cannot be later than *ca.* A.D. 1150. The mass of pottery, though very consistent in types, is small, and may conceivably have been gathered from a dump of 50 years before. But this is improbable, and it must be admitted that the available evidence does not allow a precise dating of the repair.

<sup>111</sup> A final phase of the history of the walls brings us to a structure still in use. In the preceding pages we have had frequent occasion to refer to the church of St. Demetrius, which, with its churchyard, is built approximately on the ruins of the northern half of the Dipylon gate in the wall (Plate XVII). The full name of the saint to whom this church is dedicated is Hagios Demetrios Loumbardieris, a name of such peculiarity that no one has pretended to understand it fully. The date of the construction of the original part of the church is uncertain; it is commonly supposed to go back a fair distance into the Middle Ages, and, of course, there may have been a modest church on the spot even before the construction of the earliest part of which remains are now visible. Mommsen (*Athenae Christianae*, 1868, p. 52, no. 51.) has suggested a possible earlier form of the present name of the saint, St. Demetrius Bombardiaris, and suggests that its earliest associations include a mediaeval military officer who lent his profession to the saint. A second



## APPENDIX A: THE BURIALS

Mention has been made in the text of late Roman burials found among the fortifications, particularly in the areas to the south of the Propylon bedding and to the south of the Dipylon above the Gates (pp. 372, 376). In addition to these, we exposed several graves of other periods in our exploratory trenches, and had occasion to open still others elsewhere on the Pnyx hills. Most of these graves had been robbed or otherwise disturbed; only two produced objects of any intrinsic interest. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with giving a brief account of their location and their dates, as closely as can be determined.

The earliest was also one of the best furnished graves. This lay just outside the circular tower (W2) of the White Poros Wall on the central Pnyx Hill. It lay within a metre of the southern curve of the front of the tower, and beside the mouth of the cistern (p. 358). It was a simple trench burial, about 0.40 m. below the surface, measuring approximately 0.50 m. by 1.50 m. The earthen sides were only partially preserved; two trees had been planted in modern times in such a way as to break down the edges. Only a few fragile bits of bone remained. From the finds, which included two lamps (Broneer, Type VII), two small undecorated black-glazed saucers, fragments of several fusiform unguentaria, and two other undecorated vases of unclassified shape, the interment may be dated in the fourth century before Christ. A deposit of a dozen or more fusiform unguentaria, both fragmentary and intact, was found in the footing trench of the tower, and indicates that graves of the same period existed in the neighborhood prior to the construction of the Hellenistic wall.<sup>112</sup>

thought, however, will bring to mind Demetrius Poliorcetes, whose name is an approximate equivalent to that of the saint. It will then be recalled that the Athenians did indeed establish a sanctuary in honor of the Hellenistic general, giving him the appellation Kataibates (Plut., *Demetrius*, X, 10; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 412.). This word is sometimes thought to refer to the fact that the sanctuary was located where he first descended from his chariot on arriving in Athens; otherwise it might refer more figuratively to the god-like thunderous destruction with which he descended on his enemies. In either case it would seem possible that the sanctuary was established at the Dipylon between the Pnyx and the Museum, ultimately evolving into the church of Demetrios Bombardiaris. But whether this is true or not, Demetrius Poliorcetes was associated with the wall because of his memorable garrison on the Museum, perhaps also because he had had a hand in finishing it. Whatever the explanation, it would seem pressing coincidence too far to deny some connection between the church of St. Demetrius Bombardiaris on the tower with the historical associations of the spot.

Even in quite modern times, the military desirabilities of positions along our line of wall have been realized and used, for cartridges have been found along the line of wall on the Museum, evidently from shots fired by Greek soldiers resisting the assault of the French landing party in 1917. Anti-aircraft guns were mounted on the central Pnyx hill during the first World War, and the mounts were used for the same purpose, again, during the present conflict.

<sup>112</sup> These graves should not be regarded as certain evidence of the depopulation of the region; they may well have been surreptitious burials, made in back yards. Instances of such, dating from the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C., have been found in the thickly inhabited environs of the Athenian Agora.

The next burials, chronologically speaking, were of the Augustan period. Of these the richer appeared about 100 m. south of the grave just described, on the slopes of the western spur of the central Pnyx Hill, above the road to the Long Walls. This entombment consisted of a cist lined with soft poros slabs and covered with a single slab. Inside, it measured 0.50 m. by 1.75 m. The skeleton was well preserved, with the head to the north; it was evidently that of a woman. The finds included the bronze disk of a mirror, fragments of a bronze bracelet; bits of bronze that may have decorated or held together the slippers, and two fusiform unguentaria of early Roman type.

About 5.00 m. to the north of the southwestern corner tower (W6) of the White Poros Wall we found several burials. These had been demolished apparently on the destruction of the wall. Scattered bones of one skeleton were found, and indications of a second. A third, fairly well preserved, was that of an adult male. Beside the head was a lamp (Broneer, Type XX). Mixed in with the earth and bones were some nails, possibly from a wooden coffin. In the neighborhood we observed traces of other such graves. The heads seem to have been toward the northeast.

Just outside Judeich's Melitean gates we opened a grave of uncertain date. It was sunk in earth, the skeleton being covered with two terracotta grave covers 0.63 m. in length, and 0.57 m. in height. The covers have straight sides and a curved top. The ends of the grave were closed with slabs of sun-baked mud. The skeleton was that of a young woman lying slightly on the left side, with knees partially bent. We were told by inhabitants of the neighborhood that other such graves had been found or were known to exist near by.

Burials dating on stratigraphic grounds probably later than the fifth century after Christ were found at numerous points along the walls excavated. Along the southeastern side of the Mortar Repair tower northwest of the Hill of the Nymphs (M1) was a grave of normal size, i. e., *ca.* 0.60 m. by 1.50 m., cut in earth and covered with tiles laid gablewise. It contained parts of a skeleton in unusual condition, for although only the skull and the legs were preserved, there was reason to believe that no more of the body than this had been interred. The legs were complete, from the top of the femur to the toes, and were evenly and naturally laid out. They occupied the northern half of the grave, with the feet to the east. Evidently the man to whom they once belonged was of unusual size, for the legs measured over a metre in length. The skull, in fair condition, lay at the upper end of the right femur.

In the lower earth along the north side of the curved tower of the White Poros Wall (W2) were several burials, of which we were able to open one. No offerings were found. They were covered with tiles laid gablewise. In the earth above these were other graves, similar, but inferior in quality. No offerings were found. To the southeast of the next rectangular tower to the east (W3), inside the wall, was another, similar grave of good construction. Here the trench dug for the interment was easily



followed, and the two tiles covering the northern end were *in situ*. The grave was found empty. Traces of four or five similar burials were found elsewhere around the tower. Over the ruined west wall of the Mortar Repair tower at the east end of the East Stoa (M4) was a badly disturbed burial of similar construction. Unfortunately nothing was preserved by which even an approximation to the date could be reached.

In the trench north of St. Demetrius we found a grave in the earth over the construction debris of the Justinianian period. It consisted of a broken jar about a metre long, lying east and west. The jar was quite empty, but probably once contained the bones of an infant. At a slightly higher level was found the badly decomposed skeleton of a woman lying with her head to the west. At her feet were remains of the skeleton of an infant. The woman had evidently been scantily covered with tiles laid gable-wise; over the child was a small broken amphora.

The graves in the area of the Early Christian keep (M2) and beside the south gate tower of the Dipylon (C3) have already been described (*supra*, pp. 372, 376).

We opened several rock-cut graves on the westward spur of the central Pnyx Hill, in all cases to find that we had been anticipated by periods ranging from twenty to two thousand years. This rocky spur is liberally dotted with such grave cuttings, some of which even today are found to contain objects of considerable value, but our efforts were fruitless. We also made explorations in the vicinity of various columnar grave monuments, possibly *in situ* along the road to the Long Walls, but again the graves which we found had been robbed.<sup>113</sup>

#### APPENDIX B: THE SMALL SANCTUARY ON THE HILL OF THE NYMPHS

On the northwest spur of the Hill of the Nymphs, in front of the wall, we uncovered the bedrock over a small area of the southern slope of the hill. A ledge on the rock still preserves a series of stèle cuttings. About a metre below this ledge is another 0.75 m.-1.00 m. in width, with some signs of foot wear. In the vicinity we found an appreciable number of miniature votive cups of the fourth century B.C. From these remains we know that on the spot must have been a small local sanctuary, but no clue has yet been found to the identification of the divinity. It is of interest primarily as exemplifying the kind of wayside shrine, or tiny cult place, known only locally and important only to a small neighborhood; such may have existed more commonly than we sometimes think.

#### APPENDIX C: MISCELLANEOUS BUILDING BLOCKS

In the course of our examination of the city walls along the Pnyx, we found a number of re-used blocks of various sorts, employed in various periods of the construction. Most of these probably found their way into the fortifications during the

<sup>113</sup> For the historical significance of these burials, cf. above, p. 361.

Roman period, although it was not always possible to be certain on this point. Some of these have been mentioned in passing, but it seems desirable to give a summary of these finds, and a description of the more important.

At several points along the walls we found uninscribed monument bases and simple building blocks, but of these we need make no further mention. The only important pieces which were certainly re-used in the pre-Roman construction were two cornice blocks of poros, one of which was built into the foundations for the gate

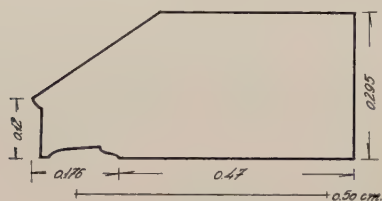


Fig. 69. Limestone Cornice Block Found in Compartment Wall on Museum

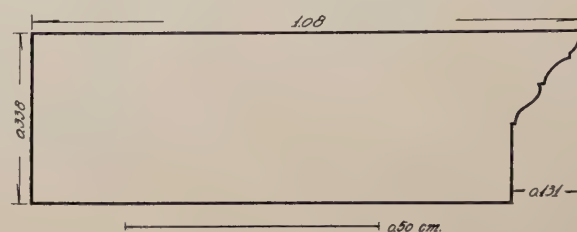


Fig. 71. Marble Wall Crown from Slopes of Museum

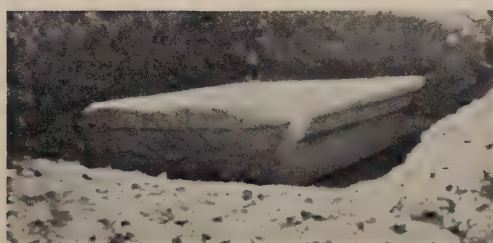


Fig. 70. Marble Wall Crown Found on Southern Slope of Museum



Fig. 72. Marble Epistyle Found on Northern Slope of Museum

buttress of the White Poros Wall in the Dipylon above the Gates (Fig. 54), of which no drawing is available. The other was discovered in the Compartment Wall as rebuilt at the base of the tower (C6) below the juncture of the Macedonian fort with the Compartment Wall itself (Figs. 39, 69). It is possible that these blocks had been used as wall crowns in the more monumental parts of the Compartment Wall. Especially is this possible at the Dipylon, where the court may well have been so finished, and the second block may have been used in the postern by the tower. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that the entire length of the wall was thus treated, and it may indeed be questioned whether the blocks go with the wall at all. They may well have come from monuments or buildings in the vicinity.

We may also call attention here to the column drum of poros found built into the Justinianian repair south of the East Stoa (Fig. 66). This unfluted drum, 1.40 m.



in diameter, must have been intended for a monumental structure of some size, but there is no evidence to suggest its site. Interesting is the fact that another similar drum, now disappeared, has left its clear impression in the mortar of the wall at the same place.

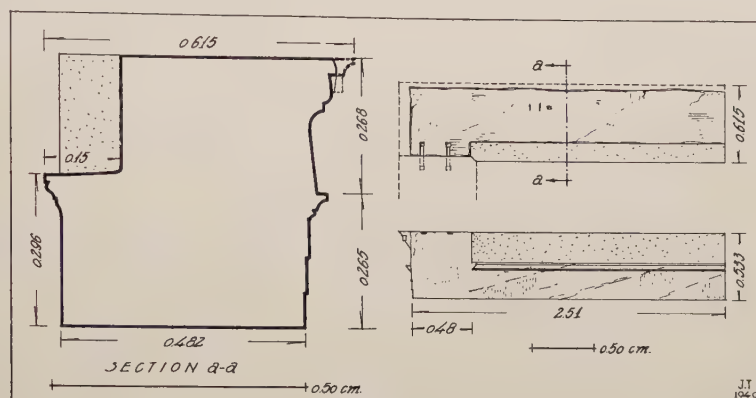


Fig. 73. Marble Architrave Found in the Walls

From the Roman period, as the workmanship indicates, comes a marble wall crown (Figs. 70, 71) and a corner epistyle (Figs. 72, 73) also found on the upper slopes of the Museum. These definitely were used in the wall no earlier than the period of Valerian, and possibly later, and we have no clue as to their original provenience. They may safely be attributed, however, to some of the many monuments along the roads flanking the Museum.

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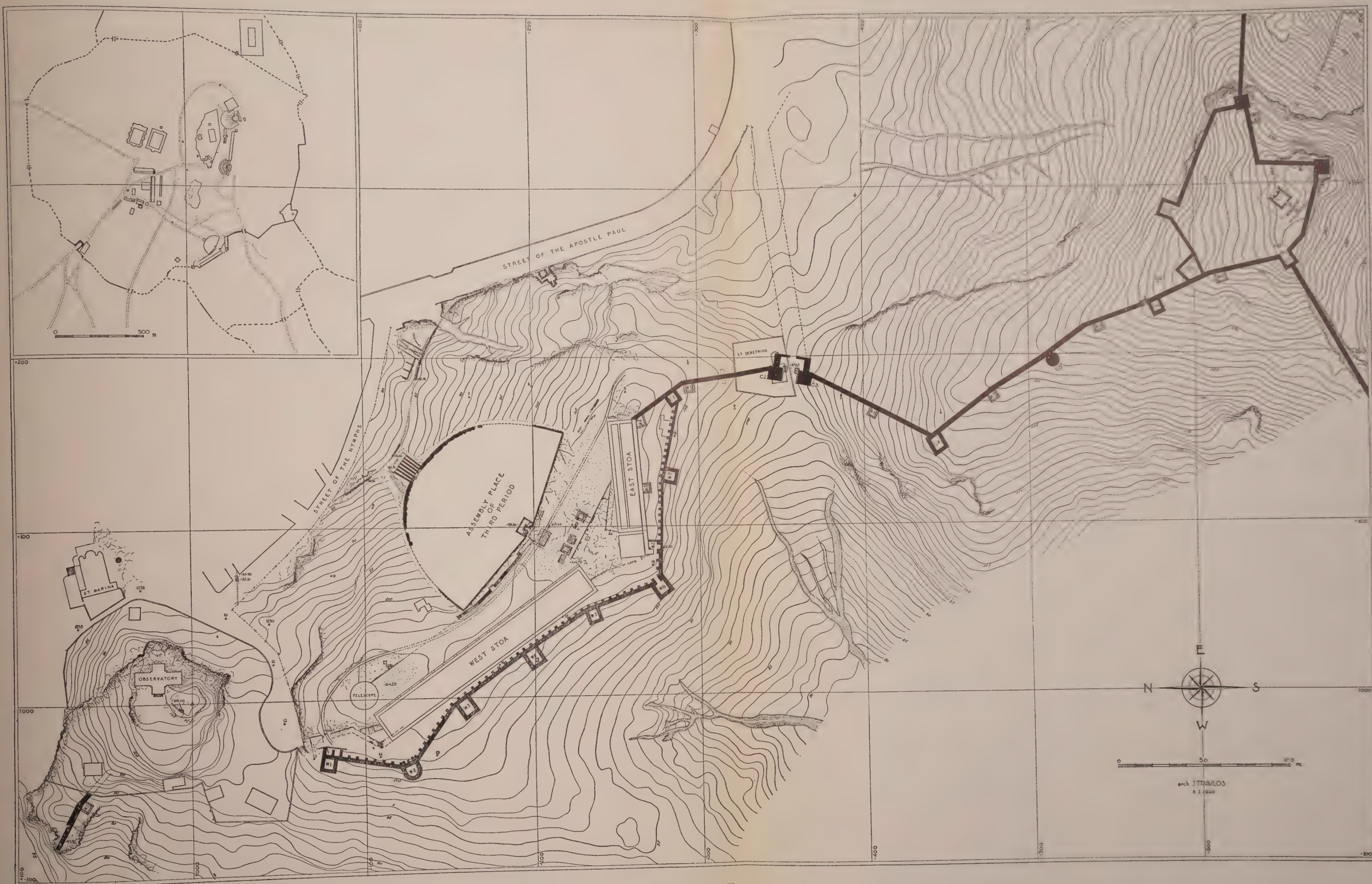
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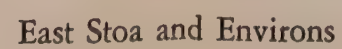




### Plan of the Pnyx

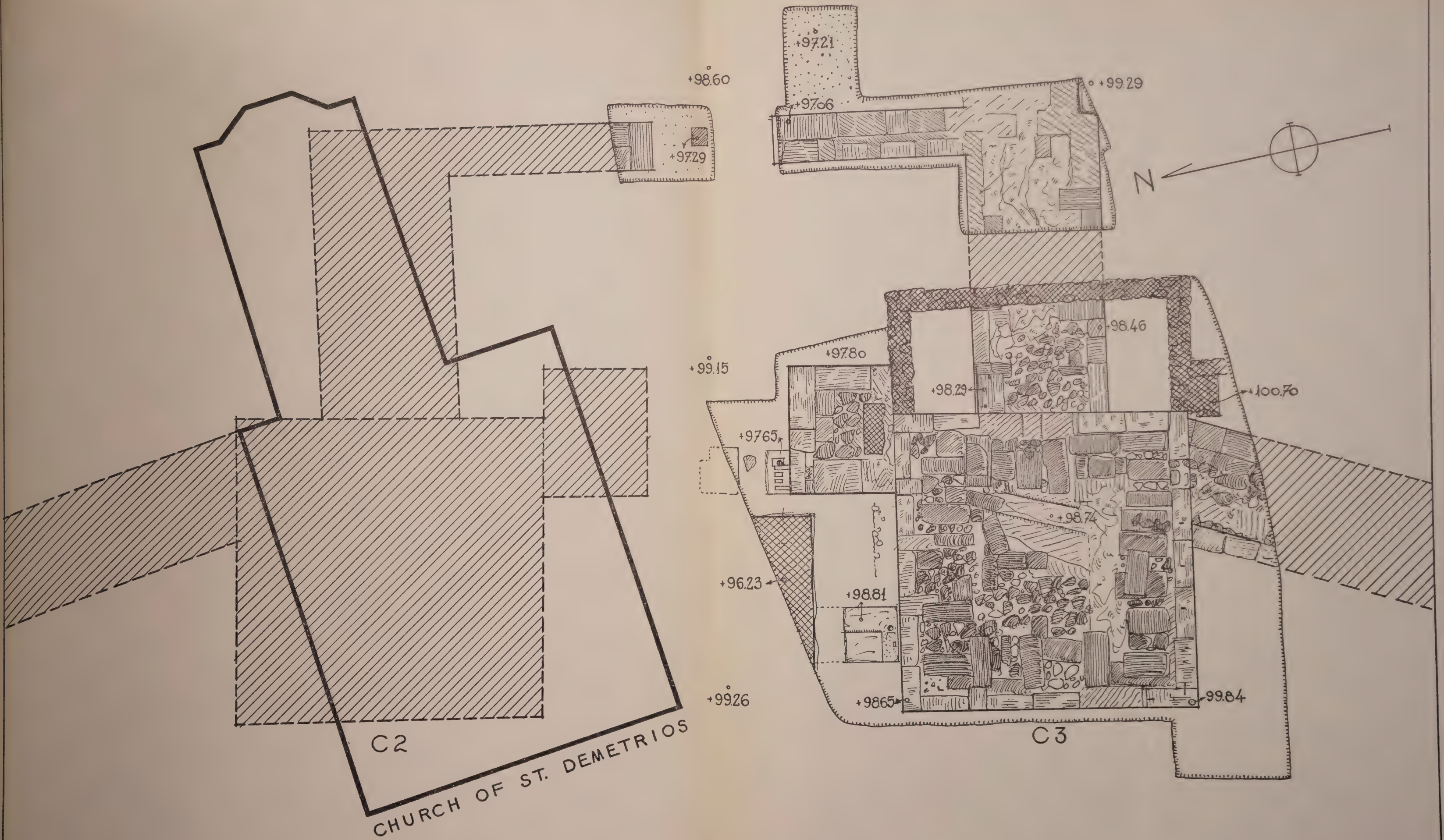












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J.T.  
1937

Plan of the Dipylon by St. Demetrios as Excavated





# HESPERIA

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